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ART I.—THE STORM OF SERINGAPATAM.

[BY AN EYE WITNESS.]

THE war with Haidar Ali's son belongs to so completely byegone a state of affairs, that it is startling to think that sons of those who took part in it might almost yet be in existence. The Nawab, or Deputy-Governor for the Moghul Empire, was still bearing sway in the Carnatic when the troubles began ; and the army sent against Tippoo Sultan was legally the army of that official. Nor was the success of the expedition by any means a foregone conclusion. The delay of a day might have turned the scales against it ; and its failure might have led to a terrible catastrophe.

The following notes are by my father, who commanded a Company of the 2nd Battalion, 9th Madras Infantry ; and they give a vivid picture, from that humble point of view, of the conditions of Indian campaigning in the last century.

It may, perhaps, be useful to add a word as to the character and position of the persons of that memorable, though not always remembered, drama. The army of the Carnatic consisted of 21,649 men, with 60 field pieces, and 40 guns of position : about a fourth of the force being white men. The Commander-in-Chief was General George Harris, a fine type of the British Officer of the time. Strong and handsome in form, with a mind in which piety, virtue and prudence were associated with a cheerful wit and adequate professional experience, George Harris had risen in the 5th Foot, had been wounded in the head at Bunker's Hill, served as Aide-de-Camp and Military Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, and taken part in Lord Cornwallis's Mysore campaign, which

ended in 1792. In 1798 he was Commander-in-Chief and Governor of the Madras Presidency; and in the beginning of the following year he left Madras under the orders of the Governor-General, and advanced from Vellore in February. The cavalry division was under General Floyd, two of his regimental chiefs being Colonel (afterward, General Sir John) Sherbrooke and Colonel S. Cotton (afterwards Lord Combermere). Among the infantry officers were Major-General (afterwards Sir David) Baird, and Colonel the Honorable A. Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington and conqueror of Napoleon). On the other side, the enemy were headed by Tippoo Sultan, son and successor of Haidar Ali, a bigoted and blood-thirsty Muslim, who had recently entertained a party of Frenchmen from the Mauritius, assumed the insignia of the Jacobin Club, and made war upon the British in India with all the animosity of his late father, and more barbarity.

After fighting his way through the Mysore country, General Harris arrived before Seringapatam on the 4th April, 1799. Baird was sent on a nocturnal reconnaissance on the 6th, but was only partially successful. Next night a force was sent to renew the movement, the plan of which included the taking a fortified grove by the 33rd Foot, under Wellesley. That operation completely collapsed. On the 6th, however, an attack in force took place, which ended by putting the besiegers in possession of a parallel of two miles long, a mile to the South of the fortifications, but fairly protected from the fire of the walls. The next three weeks were occupied in advancing these positions and opening the breaching operations. On the 30th April the batteries really settled down to their work, and, the breach on the South-West being reported practicable on the 3rd May, an assault was ordered for the following day; 4,500 men forming the column under command of General Baird for the first assault, supported by a reserve under Brigadier A. Wellesley. The hour of 1 P.M. was fixed for the attempt; and, just as they were starting, the General said to Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm, that they must take the fort or perish: "Success," he added, "is necessary to our existence." The forlorn hope was supported by the two subaltern's parties, one of which was commanded by Lieutenant Lawrence of the 77th, whose sons were destined to become so famous in Indian History; the other was under the writer of this account:—

"My battalion left camp at 3 P. M. of the 3rd May, along with the other troops destined for the relief of those who kept guard in the trenches. Previously to this we had been employed, every alternate night, as a working party. We had dined in

camp, and expected to return in the morning. When the relief did not come, I looked about to see what provisions we had. I found that the Doctor's servant had a ham and a bottle of Madeira, which I seized. The Doctor came to the rescue: I ran with my booty to Gibbons, our Colonel; and he, in joke, ordered a drum-head division; and the diversion we had with the Doctor did us more good than a meal. At this moment I was ordered off to take sand-bags and fascines to the breaching battery; and the others ate up all.

"I carried down the fascines and sand-bags, and still recollect my indignation when I afterwards found that they had eaten everything in my absence. I was angry, too, when I found that we, who had always been a working-party, were not to be foremost in the storm.

"It must have been about noon when I was sent down to the breaching-battery. At one the storming-party began to move out of the trenches; my corps followed, and the town was in our possession before I mounted the breach. There were two strong walls to the fort and a ditch between. A high bastion stood on the inner wall, behind the breach, from which a few guns, well served, might have done great execution. And it would have been easy to blow up the breach, or cut it off. With ordinary skill, we might have been kept off till the rains had filled the river and our food was exhausted. Nor could we have held the trenches after they had been filled with water, which happened next day.

"On the morning of the 4th, the Frenchmen* told Tippoo that the breach was practicable and that the trenches were full of troops. He ordered them under arrest. Then he consulted the Brahmins, who said that great danger threatened him at mid-day, which he might avert by charitable gifts. He gave them some money and ordered part of their arrears to be paid to the troops. But he had disgusted his people and ruined his army, and he relied on supernatural aid.

"On the North side there was no gate: but there was an old stone chamber on the outer rampart, and a bastion of the inner wall protected it. Here Tippoo retired with a few servants, and ordered that the troops should go to dinner. Shortly after this we began to fire blank cartridge to cover the advance of the stormers, and there was a great uproar. Tippoo sate at his dinner till one of the servants told him that the English were coming: and they presently appeared: this was the head of the left-hand column. He sent off a servant to the palace to bring up the troops; seized his rifle and shot one of the first three who came on in front. Another was

* Tippoo was assisted by M. Chapuy and other French Officers.

killed by a shot from the bastion behind. The third still advancing, Tippoo cried out :—‘ These are devils, two are killed and the third comes on ! ’ He then fled to the gate in the inner wall called ‘ The Water-gate, ’ and there he was met by some of his own troops. The party, which took to the right after mounting the breach, soon met with a narrow wall across the inner ditch, which served as a drain. Some crossed upon it and gained the inner wall ; the rest went on until they came to the Mysore gate, and so got into the town and followed the street to the palace. They here found the party who were going to Tippoo, and pursued them into the Water-gate. Tippoo was thus enclosed between our two parties.

“ He fought bravely. When he fell wounded, an officer was about to say who he was. Tippoo frowned and put his finger to his lips ; he then made a blow at a sergeant and cut into the barrel of his firelock : the sergeant killed him with his bayonet ; and the body was soon covered by the slain.

“ The plunder was immense. On the 5th, the women came down with food for the soldiers, and might be seen walking about in shawls and jewels of which a duchess might be proud. And for a month after I saw the English soldiers playing at ‘ Chuck-farthing ’ with heavy gold pieces. But it all went, gradually, to the grog-shops. One of our sutlers—a native—fixed himself, on the 5th, in the breach by which many of the British privates escaped with their booty : they were afraid that, if they went out by the gates, they would be made to give it up. He had a basket of arrack : and for every bottle got a handful of gold or precious stones.

“ I afterwards learned that some of the officers had picked up booty in the course of the night. Some few may have been too generous to follow such an example, but most of us thought it quite lawful. Our Colonel had called us together and told us that Tippoo had not been found, and we must prepare for an attack and keep together all night. Some wiser hands knew better and went off to try their fortune. I got my company together and made them lie down, and then lay down to sleep before them. But the wailing and the uproar kept me awake : there was a yard immediately below us, where a beautiful woman sate weeping over her husband all night.

“ The prime-minister had moved his treasure from his palace into a private house. Some soldiers got in : bags were piled against the wall, which seemed to be rice ; the floor of the upper chambers was covered with rupees : the men filled their knapsacks with the silver, and, coming down, cursed the man for giving them such a weight to carry. One said : ‘ If I had him here, I would stick him like one of his rice-bags. ’ He suited the action to the word, and out poured a stream of gold. I knew

a native gentleman who lived close by, and who helped himself to some of the 'rice.' But Mir Alam got the most of it. He had private intelligence of the place where this treasure was, and got out a great deal of it in covered *doolies* with a woman in each, pretending that they were the family of the minister.

"A soldier who got into the Sultan's palace, found a small black box under Tippoo's bed; this he carried off; at the gate of the palace he opened it, took out the prettiest things, and flung down the rest under the horses' feet. When he got to camp, he went to Doctor Maine and offered him all the things, as he had been kind to him when sick. Captain Campbell, who was sitting by, asked for some fine pearls, which he paid the man for. Maine got two pairs of diamond bracelets: he told the man that, if they were diamonds, the value was immense, but, if glass, they were worth nothing; and he advised the man to keep them till he could find out. The man replied that, if he did so, some black fellow would get them from him for a bottle of liquor. Maine therefore gave him a sum of money, at a venture; and when he found out their value, settled an annuity upon the soldier.

"On the 5th I found some trifles in the house of Abdul Khalik, one of Tippoo's sons: a bag of rice, a book, and a carpet. Going along the ramparts on the 4th, we came on a large iron pot of rice: I let the sepoys help themselves; they would not eat after my hand had been in, and they left me a handful at the bottom. Then Mr. Wright seized, at the same moment, a large round pot, with a small mouth, that had a little water in it. He was my senior, so I held it up while he drunk half, and he then held it for me. On the morning of the 5th, the water-carrier of my company brought us some water, but it was so polluted by the dead bodies that had been thrown into the well that no one could drink it. About noon on the 5th, our different followers brought us in food from camp. We were nearly 48 hours with nothing to eat or drink, excepting what I have mentioned.*

"We were sadly off for food. I believe I often ate the flesh of bullocks that had died of disease. I gave all my pay to my servant to feed the whole party. Rice was two rupees a *sir* (say two shillings a lb). Bags of sand were piled up to look like rice; and a report was spread every day that the Mahrathas would come and bring supplies.

"The tempest on the evening of Tippoo's funeral was tremendous; it filled all our trenches with water; and that night the river rose in flood. On the 6th May—had we not got into Seringapatam—we must have raised the siege, spiked the

*The writer was only seventeen at the time.

guns, left all our tents and baggage, and fled, without a morsel of food, through a country that had been ravaged, and before the exulting troops of the enemy.

"I caught a serious illness on the night of the 3rd, which lasted a fortnight. I was asleep on the bare ground, when heavy rain fell, and I awoke in a puddle. I must have died in a retreat—and so, by sickness or the sword, would more than half the army."

[The "Mir Alam" referred to above, and again mentioned in the next extract, was the commandant of the contingent sent by the Nizam of the Deccan to co-operate in the campaign. He is described by my father as much afflicted with leprosy; but he had good talents and fine manners. In one part of his *MS.* is a description of a visit that Colonel Wellesley, accompanied by my father, paid the Mir in his Camp. But the account contains nothing different from the usual visits of English officers to Native noblemen, with which, either from reading or from personal experience, most people are familiar. The distinguished guests are received with exquisite politeness, and bored to death with *sherbets* and *nautching*. The presence of the Mir with the army was of political importance, as his master, the Nizam, was a sort of suzerain in the South of India, and the only remaining representative of the once mighty Moghul Empire.]

The narrative proceeds as follows:—

"Karim Sahib, Tippoo's brother, was of weak intellect. When my corps came back again—to form part of the garrison—no quarters were found for the officers. Wright and I got into Karim's house, a small dirty place with high walls, and the courtyard full of tawdry rubbish for celebrating the Muharram. It was a tempestuous night, and we were just about to go to bed when my servant came in to say that the prince had just come from Mir Alam's camp, and begged we would leave his house. My servant thought this insolence, and Wright would not hear of moving. But my man had told the Prince that I was 'the Lord Sahib's nephew:' I knew what my uncle would wish, and I felt pity for the man. So I sent a polite message to beg shelter for the night in any of the sheds: Wright instantly agreed to give up the only decent apartment. His Highness was equally polite and insisted upon passing the night with the Princess in the kitchen. Next morning I begged leave to pay my respects to him before leaving the house. He half opened the door, showed a fool's face and a tawdry dress, muttered some compliments and seemed in fear for his life."

[As Lord Harris's nephew, my father was much interested in the appreciation of his uncle's services, and he notes several

reasons for the delay which attended their reward. Neither by King George III, nor by the Court of Directors was he at all adequately treated; and it was reserved for the usually-decried Prince of Wales—when he became Regent—to recognize deeds which had much to do with the foundations of the Indian Empire. It was in allusion to this circumstance that Lord Harris assumed, with other honourable augmentations to his arms, the motto, "My Prince and my Country." Among the reasons for this neglect, besides the General's characteristic modesty and self-oblivion, my father noticed the following—which ought to be recorded as the opinion of an intelligent participator in the conduct of the campaign]:—

"Among the reasons why Harris was neglected on his return, I reckon the great talent and greater vanity of Lord Mornington, who talked of the wisdom of *his* plans as if the campaign could not have failed. But, if we had kept the North side of the river, where Tippoo was prepared to oppose us, the rain would have fallen before we took the place, and our provisions would have been consumed. Indeed, I doubt if we could have brought up our guns if we had not crossed at Sosilla."

[This was a town on the Cavery River, about 28 miles South-East of Seringapatam, off the main road, where Harris crossed his army by night, while the enemy was awaiting him elsewhere.]

[Some time after Mornington had become Marquess Wellesley and returned to England, he took, as is well known, a part in Home-politics.]

"When he expected to be made Prime-Minister, he wrote to my uncle to say so. He complained of a faction who were striving to set his illustrious brother against him;—'that hero of my own making,' as he called him—and he asked my uncle if he might rely 'upon his *unqualified* support.' Those two expressions I remember, for I saw the letter. My uncle wrote and expressed his admiration of the Marquess's talents and services and his hearty wishes for his success: but he added that 'unqualified support was more than he had promised to his King.' This gave offence. My uncle desired me to call upon Sir H. M. on my way through town, and say that he was sorry to give any; but he was obliged to give a plain answer to such a demand. Sir H. said, 'He would not have written it if I had been by: ' I replied, 'He would have told the Marquess so to his face.'"

[The young officer whose early experience of the blended tragedy and comedy of war has been given above, left the army and ultimately went to Cambridge, where he took a good degree and was elected Fellow of his College. In accepting this he was obliged to take Orders. His uncle afterwards endeavoured

to use his influence with the Duke of Wellington to obtain a living for my father. The latter thus relates the incident]:—

“The Duke had always shown me great kindness when he was at the head of the Government, and my uncle was very old, and anxious to see me provided for, he asked the Duke to give me a living. He wrote a very short answer; saying that he would be very happy to serve Mr. Keene, but made it a rule never to give Church-preferment to those who had been in the army. I had left the army 25 years, or nearly so; but his rule was good, because many who had served under him in Spain had taken Orders, and it was quite his principle that such persons ought not to interfere with the promotion of the old members of ‘the other service.’”

[In conclusion, it should be noted that the Governor-General’s idea that all the merit of the campaign against Tippoo was due to himself was positively, if indirectly, repudiated by the great Captain, his brother. In the Duke’s *Despatches* will be found the following plain sentence]:—

“It is a fact not sufficiently known that General Harris himself conducted the details of the victorious army which he commanded in Mysore.”

[Many reflections were made upon the favour which the General showed the young Brigadier in the campaign. It is well known that Arthur Wellesley was put in command of the garrison of Seringapatam after the place was taken; and indignation was felt by General Baird’s friends on the score that, after conducting the assault to a successful termination, he should have been set aside for a junior officer who had lately made a serious mistake. My father comments on this]:—

“It was said in the army that [after the failure of the night attack of 5th April] Colonel Wellesley was found asleep on the table in the General’s tent. But Colonel Wellesley was then very unpopular in the army, and his leaving his post when the 33rd were in confusion, was an offence for which every subaltern thought that he deserved punishment: the situations of authority and emoluments which he obtained gave great offence. My uncle has since told me that he saw the merits and talents of Colonel Wellesley and therefore brought him forward: and that he treated the Colonel’s failure and his leaving his post just as he would have done with any other brave young man who, from want of experience, had made a mistake. The 33rd were all raw recruits, Colonel Wellesley did what many others have done; he despised the natives till he learned their mode of warfare. I believe this failure laid the foundation of his great character, and Lord Harris is completely justified thereby in his foresight and forbearance. I do not, however, think that either he or his brother showed a grateful recollection of my uncle.

‘ Besides all other reasons, Baird was unsuited for the command in Seringapatam. He was a man of fiery temper ; he had been ill-used by Tippoo ; every hasty word or look would have been taken for revenge, though he was quite free from any such feeling. The bare fact that Colonel Wellesley was brother to the Governor-General acted as a check upon all that he did, and gave the people confidence in his protection. General Harris could not give the command to any other.’

H. G. KEENE.

ART. II.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Abraham Lincoln : A History : by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, 10 vols. New York : the Century Company. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

ALTHOUGH the verdict pronounced by the author of this elaborate, and in many respects, remarkable biography, that "Abraham Lincoln was incomparably the greatest man of his time" will not be the general opinion of Europeans, he was connected so closely with the whole epoch of the American Civil War, and he represented in his own person so heroically and prominently the Northern cause in that Titanic struggle, that even this exhaustive work of ten volumes may not appear excessive, as compared with the part he played in one of the most striking dramas of history. No one will deny that Abraham Lincoln is entitled to a place among the great rulers of mankind ; and whatever doubts may be felt on the point will be removed by a consideration of the difficulties against which he contended and which he finally overcame. The success of the North in their long and arduous struggles with the South was due to several causes, but not the least potent of them was the courage, determination and political sagacity and foresight of Abraham Lincoln. It is saying much, but when all the vicissitudes of that contest are considered, it is not more than the truth to declare that, but for Abraham Lincoln, the Union would have been wrecked, and the States left in dismembered and hostile proximity, to evolve in the course of time, some new, unascertainable and less glorious political destiny and constitution for the American people. Such being the magnitude of the service rendered by Lincoln to the national cause of the United States, it is only a natural expression of public gratitude, that those who served with him should attempt to place on record, even in encyclopædic form, the biographical details of America's second Washington. Nor is the narrative of such a career of self-made greatness, in which victory was at last barely snatched from the grasp of defeat, devoid of interest for the foreign reader, who will find in the life of Abraham Lincoln much to admire and much to serve as a permanent example.

I propose to place before the reader a summary of Lincoln's life and work, as the best way of interesting the English reader in this biography, which, for its authentic historical character, will always be quoted as a text-book. Of the qualifications of its authors for this task, a word may be said before taking up the

subject of this memoir, and that word cannot be better expressed than by a quotation from their own preface:—

“ To write the life of this great American in such a way as to show his relations to the times in which he moved, the stupendous issues he controlled, the remarkable men by whom he was surrounded, has been the purpose which the authors have diligently pursued for many years We claim for our work that we have devoted to it twenty years of almost unremitting assiduity ; that we have neglected no means in our power to ascertain the truth ; that we have rejected no authentic facts essential to a candid story ; that we have had no theory to establish, no personal grudge to gratify, no unavowed objects to subserve. . . . We were the daily and nightly witnesses of the incidents, the anxieties, the fears, and the hopes which pervaded the Executive Mansion and the National Capital.”

The family from which Lincoln sprang differed in no respect from the ordinary pioneer or squatter settlers who, in the infancy of American expansion, moved westwards from the Atlantic coast into Kentucky and Indiana, driving the Red men before them. Its history begins with the grandfather of the future President, also named Abraham, who, in the year 1780, migrated to Kentucky, and, four years later, was slain by a hostile Indian, in one of those border fights which were of everyday occurrence when the European settler began to dispossess the aborigines of their hunting-grounds. His third son, Thomas, pursued the humble vocation of a carpenter, and, marrying Nancy Hanks, the niece of his employer, became the father of Abraham Lincoln, who was born on 12th February, 1809. It is well to realize the state of society and the conditions of life under which the future Dictator of his country passed his youth. There is nothing surprising in learning that, owing to the hardships of a life of toil in bringing a wild and wooded region under the influence of cultivation, education was neglected, and that these pioneer families became illiterate and incapable of spelling even their names correctly. A graphic picture is drawn of the state of border society in Lincoln's infancy. A light value was set on human life, but the value of property was clearly realized. The murderer sometimes escaped the penalty of his crime, the thief never. No tolerance was shown to the sluggard or the coward. If a man were proved one or the other, he was ostracised by the community. Notwithstanding the absence of a regular system, “ the people were a law unto themselves. Their improvised courts and councils administered law and equity ; contracts were enforced, debts were collected, and a sort of order was maintained.” If this was the state of border society, the condition of the Lincoln family was no better. Thomas Lincoln experienced the harshest stings of fortune, and

his son, Abraham, was born "in the midst of the most unpromising circumstances that ever witnessed the advent of a hero into this world."

At nine years of age he lost his mother ; but what seemed a calamity proved a benefit, as his father quickly married a widow named Mrs. Johnston, whom he had courted as Sarah Bush, before her first marriage. After her arrival, the Lincoln family is stated to have "much improved in appearance, behaviour, and self-respect." The origin of whatever education he possessed must be attributed to her efforts. He had an unmistakable thirst for knowledge, and it is affirmed that, to enjoy the questionable advantages of a primitive school and an unlettered master, he used to walk nine miles a day, until his father forbade its continuance. His school-days ended with that exercise of parental authority in 1826, when he was seventeen years old. But his desire for knowledge remained unabated after he had nominally thrown his lesson-books on one side. The few hours of rest from the hard, daily labour of a frontier man were given to reading, and his biographer has rescued from the meagre and vanishing records of his youth, the one exceptionally touching incident of his sitting by the fire at night, and, owing to want of paper, covering the wooden stool with essays and arithmetical exercises, which he would shave off, to begin again. In addition to his insatiable desire for knowledge, attention may be called, for the purpose of bringing the man clearly before the reader, to his great physical strength and to his kindness of heart, so unusual in the society in which he mixed. His great stature—six feet four inches—was matched by his natural strength. More than one feat is recounted to show that he might have been called an American Hercules. He carried great weights : chicken-houses weighing 600 lbs., drunken men, and posts which no one else could lift ; he "could sink his axe deeper in wood than other men ;" and on more than one occasion he inflicted some personal chastisement on the supposed invincible bullies of his neighbourhood. It may be said by the critic that these acts were only in accordance with the bad practice of his day ; but it must be recorded to Lincoln's credit, that he at all times sought to employ his strength in a good cause. He made himself remarkable among his contemporaries by his disgust at all forms of cruelty to animals, and the most famous of his pugilistic encounters were honourably justified and crowned with an heroic halo by his desire to protect the weak against the strong.

The strength and good spirit, as well as superior knowledge, of Lincoln made him a natural leader among his companions, and when war with the Indian chief, Black Hawk, was declared in 1832, Lincoln, on volunteering for the campaign, was at once elected to the command of his company. In after years he

used to say, that "no subsequent success ever gave him such unmixed pleasure as this earliest distinction." In this campaign Lincoln obtained his first, and, as it proved, his last, experience as a soldier, of the reality of war. As a civilian, he smelt powder, and addressed large armies on memorable battle-fields, during the great war, but his military career began and ended with this Indian campaign. His *baptême de feu* was promptly followed by his *baptême de politique*. On his return from these operations, he threw himself with fervour into the elections for the Legislature, as candidate for Sangamon County. He went through the healthy experience, on his first appearance in public life, of a defeat at the hustings, but it is interesting to note that he summed up his political principles thus: "I am in favour of a national bank; I am in favour of the internal improvement system, and of a high protective tariff." As the profession of paid politician had not then been created, Lincoln had to turn his attention to different pursuits in order to obtain a livelihood. In this object he succeeded, if not in becoming rich, in procuring sufficient to enable him to live decently. At first he practised as a surveyor, being encouraged thereto, and, after qualifying himself, given an appointment by, the Official Surveyor of Sangamon County. At the same time he was appointed postmaster of his district of New Salem, an office of little importance or emolument, but which provides his biographers with the opportunity of rescuing an incident that bears strong testimony to Lincoln's integrity. "Several years later, when he was a practising lawyer, an agent of the Post Office Department called upon him and asked for a balance due from the New Salem office, of some 17 dollars. Lincoln rose and opened a little trunk which lay in a corner, and took from it a cotton rag in which was tied up the exact sum required. 'I never use any man's money but my own,' he quietly remarked."

In 1834, Lincoln's local popularity had increased so much that he was returned at the head of the poll for the Legislative Council, and already he was designated by the public voice for a seat in Congress. Concurrently with the commencement of his political career, he began his study of the law, and established himself in legal practice at Springfield. In 1841 his partnership with Judge Logan opened out a larger and more profitable practice, which enabled him to marry before the end of the following year. The lady he married was Miss Mary Todd, a well connected and well educated lady of Lexington; and it will suffice here to say, that his domestic life was unclouded and felicitous. When his interest in politics waned and he withdrew to some extent from public life, he devoted himself with increased energy and success to his work as a barrister; and, by the testimony of his contemporaries

and rivals, he was the ablest lawyer on his circuit. Elected to the Congress in 1847, he served his term without attracting any special notice, and thus brought to an end what his biographers call, the first of the three principal periods of his life.

In 1854 he made his reappearance on the political scene, as the opponent of the great Democrat leader, Stephen Douglas, one of the ablest politicians the United States have ever possessed, and, at this particular moment, the most prominent personage in the eyes of the American electors, as the author of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which had been adopted as far back as 1820. The theory put forward by Douglas and carried into political effect when the compromise named was repealed, was that of "popular sovereignty," which left to the people and States themselves the right of settling the slavery question, and took it out of the hands of Congress. The bringing forward of this burning question and the appearance of Douglas in his own State of Illinois roused the old life in Lincoln, and brought him again into the political arena. The duel between Lincoln and Douglas, which took the form of joint public debates, enlivened the autumn of 1854, and the admitted ability of the Democrat leader greatly enhanced the reputation which Lincoln acquired in the country, from his marked skill and energy in carrying on the controversy. Public opinion on both sides was gradually reaching an acute point, and there was expectancy as to the persons who would prove the best leaders for the rival parties in the State. Lincoln, by his acuteness in argument, his clearness in arranging his facts, and his homely wit, which was well suited and specially palatable to the audiences he addressed, obtained the popular applause in these encounters; and from the best known and most respected man in his district, he became at a bound the most prominent leader in his State. In the course of his public discussions with Douglas, he made a great speech at Peoria, which may be considered the first and the most important utterance of Lincoln on the question of slavery, and on the right policy to be assumed towards it by the Central Government. From this speech we may take the following passages:—

"This declared indifference—but, as I must think, covert zeal—for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it, because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it, because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world, enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites, causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men among ourselves into an open war

with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticising the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self interest I particularly object to the new position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I object to it, because it assumes that there can be moral right in the enslaving of one man by another. I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a free people—a sad evidence that, feeling prosperity, we forget right—that liberty, as a principle, we have ceased to revere Let us turn slavery from its claims of ‘moral right’ back upon its existing legal rights and its arguments of ‘necessity.’ Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it, and there let it rest in peace. Let us re-adopt the Declaration of Independence and the practices and policy which harmonise with it. Let North and South—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere—join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union, but we shall have so saved it as to make and to keep it for ever worthy of the saving.” In a letter written only a few months after this speech, he asks the frequent question: “Can we, as a nation, continue together *permanently*—for ever—half slave and half free?”

Among other early utterances of Lincoln on the subject of the vital question that eventually threatened to rend the Union in pieces, the following passages from a speech he delivered during the Presidential election of 1856, will serve to bring out his views and to explain much of his future policy:—

“You further charge us with being disunionists. If you mean that it is our aim to dissolve the Union, I for myself answer that it is untrue. But you may say, that, though it is not our aim, it will be the result if we succeed, and that we are therefore disunionists in fact. This is a grave charge you make against us, and we certainly have a right to demand that you specify in what way we are to dissolve the Union The Supreme Court of the United States is the tribunal to decide such a question, and we will submit to its decision; and, if you do also, there will be an end of the matter. Will you? If not, who are the disunionists—You or we? We, the majority, would not strive to dissolve the Union, and if any attempt is made, it must be by you who so loudly stigmatise us as disunionists. But the Union, in any event, will not be dissolved. We don’t want to dissolve it, and if you attempt it, we won’t let you. With the purse and sword, the army and navy and treasury in our hands and at our command, you could not do it. This Government would be very weak, indeed, if a majority, with a disciplined army and navy and a well filled treasury, could not preserve itself when attacked by an unarmed,

undisciplined, unorganised minority. All this talk about the dissolution of the Union is humbug; nothing but folly. We do not want to dissolve the Union; you shall not."

At this period an incident of a striking character, which attracted the attention of the whole of the American nation, occurred. A few years previously, the local Court of Missouri had declared a negro slave, named Dred Scott, and his family free. In 1852 the Supreme Court of that State refused this decision and sent them back to bondage. After a transfer of ownership, Dred Scott succeeded in obtaining a re-hearing of his case at St. Louis, but without any different result. An appeal was, however, allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the case was argued for the first time in the spring of 1856. The decision of that Court was not given until March 1857, and, when given, was not unanimous; but the majority were adverse to Dred Scott's demand for freedom, and the opinion of the Court was given in no dubious language and in an adverse sense—that negroes had no right to be considered as part of the people. The decision of the Court produced an extraordinary effect on public opinion throughout the country. It naturally was received in the South with unconcealed satisfaction, while in the North it excited as marked disapprobation. The opinion of the Chief Justice was summarised as declaring, that "a negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." As the Dred Scott case was the most burning topic of the time, it is not surprising to find that Lincoln was called upon by his partisans to address a public meeting at Springfield, in reply to his old antagonist Douglas. The strongest points in this speech were those showing that the decision of the Court was not unanimous; that it was quite competent for it, on a further consideration of the case, to alter it; and that it was entirely within the right of those who dissented from it, to take every step possible to make a Court which had often overruled its own decisions, to overrule this.

Buchanan, the President elected in 1856, was a trimmer, or, in the description of the time, "a Northern man with Southern principles." Encouraged by the support of the Supreme Court and by the increased confidence of the Democrats, he supported every scheme and resorted to every device for "establishing a settled doctrine for the country" as to the holding of slaves. Out of Buchanan's acts arose a firm determination among the Northern electors to provide a Republican successor for him in the Presidential chair, when, in due course, the elections should come round in 1860. To give consecutiveness to the biographical story which we are extracting from this voluminous history, it is now appropriate to

describe the events which made them select Abraham Lincoln as their candidate, and which ultimately resulted in his success.

In June, 1858, Lincoln was selected as "the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate;" and the speech which he made to the Convention, on accepting the nomination, is described as probably the most carefully prepared of his whole life. The peroration contained a statesmanlike survey of the surrounding situation and a remarkable prophecy: "I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South." Lincoln's opponent was his old rival, Douglas, and both were foemen worthy of each other's steel. The campaign was fought with the greatest energy on both sides, and Lincoln and Douglas engaged in several joint public debates. Both disputants showed great argumentative and forensic skill, and the question of merit need not be discussed. In the result Douglas was successful, but, although defeated, Lincoln shot a Parthian shaft, which carried dissension into the Democrats' camp, and alienated Southern sympathy from Douglas, the most powerful advocate of their cause. It was delivered by his extracting from Douglas a distinct admission of the incompatibility in principle between his own pet theory of popular sovereignty and the decree of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. Much to the credit of his character as a man, Douglas adhered to his principles and consistency, by answering formal questions, put to him at one of their joint debates by Lincoln, in a sense entirely in favour of his own opinion, that the matter must be settled by the people of any State themselves, or, in other words, by "popular sovereignty," and adverse to the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott. The effect of this statement, which alienated the sympathy of the South from Douglas within a very short period, was only perceptible to Lincoln, who, on being warned by his friends that, if he asked this question, he could never be Senator, replied: "I am killing larger game; if Douglas answers, he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this." The consequence of this electoral duel was to make Lincoln famous in and out of America. The

editor of a Chicago paper wrote to him: "You are like Byron, who woke up one morning and found himself famous. People wish to know about you. You have sprung at once from the position of a capital fellow and a leading lawyer in Illinois, to a national reputation."

The incidents which led up to the Presidential election of 1860, were not all of a politic or pacific nature. The John Brown affair is worth brief notice. John Brown was half fanatic and half ruffian, but either his zeal or his lawless exploits on the then unsettled borders of Arkansas rendered him a suitable person to be subsidised by the committees and individuals in the North, who wished to assume an aggressive attitude towards those among the champions of slavery who were not averse to employing similar means. When fanaticism fails to attain its object, it is, among Christian people, generally ridiculous: Mahomedans alone have learnt the secret of ennobling the failure of enthusiasm. John Brown's attack on and capture of Harper's Ferry in October 1859 was an ill-judged, unnecessary and altogether ludicrous performance. Except as an example, inciting the American people to find a remedy for their differences in the bullet, instead of the ballot, John Brown's rebellion on his own account only resulted in the loss of several innocent lives, and in his receiving the very just penalty of hanging as a criminal. Lincoln saw through the absurdity of the whole affair at the time, and, as no one knew better than he how necessary it is to stimulate enthusiasm among the mass of one's supporters, the following calm opinion of the affair, when his own people were disposed to descant on the bravery and quixotism of Brown, is very much to his credit, and furnishes strong evidence of his claims to be ranked as a statesman. Lincoln said, in February 1860: "John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd, that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts related in history at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same."

The next stage in Lincoln's political career, and in his attainment of what may be called the national leadership, was his appearance at New York, where he delivered a great speech at the Cooper Institute, on 27th February, 1860. The speech was made before a select and influential audience and produced

a great impression throughout the Northern States. The *New York Tribune* summed up the effect of this speech by saying: "No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience." The chief importance of the speech was the effect it exercised on the career of Lincoln. By his thus winning over the applause and admiration of New York, the wealthiest and most important community in the nation, his nomination, a few months later, as Republican candidate for the Presidentship, was greatly facilitated. The duty of selecting that candidate was entrusted to a Convention which met at Chicago on 16th May, 1860. The names of six men had been prominently mentioned, of whom William H. Seward and Abraham Lincoln were the best known. At the first ballot Seward obtained a majority, 173½ votes being given for him, while Lincoln received 102, and the remaining 200 were scattered among the other candidates. The first ballot led to the elimination of those candidates who obviously possessed no chance, and to a consolidation of votes in support of Seward, on the one hand, and Lincoln, on the other. At the second ballot, Seward obtained 184½ votes, but Lincoln's total had risen to 181, while 99½ were still distributed among outside candidates without any real chance of leading the poll. At the third ballot Seward's total fell to 180, while Lincoln's rose to 231½, which, before the nomination was announced, was increased to 364 by the solid manifestation in his favour of the scattered votes; and, at the final moment, Mr. Evarts, Seward's chief supporter, proposed that the nomination of Mr. Abraham Lincoln, as Republican candidate for the Presidentship, should be unanimous. Great as this success was, it derived much of its significance from the scenes attending, and the result attained at, the corresponding Democrat Convention at Charleston. I have referred to the Parthian shaft fired by Lincoln at his great and able opponent, Douglas. The deadliness of the wound became clear during the discussions at Charleston, where Douglas' views were repudiated by many of his oldest colleagues, and by all the leaders of the South. So heated was the discussion, that it was adjourned first to Baltimore and then to Richmond. But the selection of Douglas had been rendered impossible, and the theory of "popular sovereignty" repudiated, by the extreme action of the Southern Democrats, and this, it may here be parenthetically observed, destroyed whatever chances a Democrat candidate might have had of catching votes in the Northern and non-slaveholding States. The ability and experience of Douglas might long have ensured for the South a maintenance of the *status quo*, but this would not satisfy such fiery spirits as Yancey and Jefferson Davis, now coming to the front on his own side, and the latter faction

put forward two candidates for the Presidentship, in the persons of Mr. John Breckinridge and Mr. John Bell. This split in the Democrat camp, aggravated by the fact that Douglas had still his own Northern following and came forward as another Democrat candidate, rendered the success of Lincoln and the Republican party inevitable. The result confirmed the anticipation. In the electoral college, Lincoln obtained 130 votes, as against 123 given to his three opponents combined. At first sight it appears evident that the result would have been the same if there had been no split in the Democrat party ; but the effect on public opinion in the North, of the repudiation of Douglas and the simple rejection of the theory of "popular sovereignty," can never be measured. Lincoln's foresight was thus triumphantly vindicated.

Before the election of Lincoln had become an accomplished fact, what is generally considered the first act of the Civil War had been consummated by the proclamation of Governor Gist, of South Carolina, convening the Legislature of that State in extra session. This was for the purpose of receiving a message from the Governor enjoining them to pass a Bill of Secession from the Union in the event of Lincoln's election. That Bill was passed with acclamation and unanimity as soon as the Republican success became known. A great popular demonstration was given at Charleston. A national flag for the State was chosen, and money was voted and assigned for the purchase of arms and the raising of a military force. The secession of South Carolina from the Union was only rendered incomplete by the presence of a small Federal garrison at Forts Moultrie and Sumner, at the mouth of the harbour. The subject was brought forward without delay in the Senate, and the heated language of the Southern Democrats showed that they approved, and intended to imitate, the example of South Carolina. One Senator went so far as to say that he considered the election of Lincoln sufficient ground for breaking up the Union, but the majority confined themselves to stating that the States which they represented would within a few weeks also secede. The general feeling among Lincoln's opponents was expressed in the declaration.—"We intend, Mr. President, to go out peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." These speeches, made at the very beginning of the session, were followed by many attempts to find a compromise, or at least to give a pacific form to secession ; but they were abortive, and, on the 14th December, 1860, the leading Southern member of Congress issued the following address :—

"The argument is exhausted. All hope of relief in the Union through the agency of committees, congressional legislation, or constitutional amendments, is extinguished, and we

trust the South will not be deceived by appearances, or the pretence of new guarantees. In our judgment the Republicans are resolute in the purpose to grant nothing that will, or ought to, satisfy the South. We are satisfied the honour, safety and independence of the Southern people require the organization of a Southern Confederacy—a result to be obtained only by separate State secession—that the primary object of each shareholding State ought to be its speedy and absolute separation from a Union with hostile States.”

This proclamation was followed by the steps necessary to organise a government, and to form the seceding States into a republic bearing the title of the “Confederate States of America.” Jefferson Davis was elected President on 9th February 1861, and before the end of the month he had formed a cabinet to carry on the administration. A regular army of 10,000 men was established, 100,000 volunteers were enrolled for 12 months, a navy of 10 steam gunboats was ordered, and a loan of three million pounds was sanctioned. These measures showed that, if the secession of the Confederate States did not imply war, the new administration were resolved to be prepared for all contingencies. Then, again, there was a pause in the controversy, and an effort was made to patch up the difference on the basis of an amicable agreement to live apart between the North and South. Three Commissioners were sent to Washington, and a number of suggested compromises were put forward and considered, but they all failed, and, before the end of March 1861, it was clear that there was no feasible means of adjusting the differences which for a time had split the American nation in two.

The question which Lincoln had at once to decide, on taking up office, was how he should deal with an organised rebellion that had not yet perpetrated violence or shed blood, simply because it had met with neither official nor military resistance. Under these circumstances, reference must be made to Lincoln’s inaugural address, delivered on 4th March 1861, which was studied with widespread interest and eagerness both in the States and abroad, and from which it was sought to gather whether the triumphant Republicans would decide that the difference of the time must be submitted to the arbitrament of arms. Perusing this document after the lapse of thirty years, and when time has obliterated the prejudices of the day, it must be admitted that its tone was singularly moderate; that every argument and inducement was offered to draw back the seceding confederates into the Union; and that it was intended as an olive branch of peace, and not as a brand of war. Mr. Lincoln expressed his conviction and intention not to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed,

and he also made an equally important statement as to the surrender of fugitive slaves, which should have satisfied the public opinion of the South, if the Charleston Convention, followed up by the Richmond Junta, had not decided to prosecute the adventure in their own way to the bitter end. The address fills 16 closely printed pages of this work and is well worth attentive perusal. Here space can be found for only the closing passages of the peroration, which support the statement given here of the pacific tendency of the whole :—

“ In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.” I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.”

The action of the Confederates in preparing for war, followed up, as it was, by the attack on and capture of Fort Sumter at Charleston, which had remained for some weeks in possession of a Union garrison, compelled the Northern authorities to take counter measures. Lincoln issued a Proclamation on 15th April, 1861, calling out 75,000 militia, and commanding all treasonable combinations to disperse within twenty days. The intention was also announced to recapture the forts which had just surrendered to the Southerners. One occurrence, which took place almost at the same moment, deserves to be recorded, and that was the assumption of the command of the forces of Virginia by General Robert Lee, who was unquestionably the best soldier in America, and who had, a few days previously, been offered the chief post in the Union army. Considerable as Lee's reputation already was, it is safe to say that the South did not realise what they had gained, or the North what they lost, when Lee placed his sword and services at the disposal of his native State. At the same time Lee's popularity with the Southerners was not as great at the beginning of the war as it was at the end. The more ardent spirits among the Confederates wished to make a dash on Washington, and Lee repressed this enthusiasm by saying that troops were not ready, and that there were 20,000 men at Washington, which had also been put in a position of thorough defence. The advice of their chosen commander restrained their impetuosity ; but many persons think that the South then lost

their chance. A rapid march on Washington, while the railway and bridges were practically intact, might have placed the seat of government in the hands of the Confederates ; but, on the other hand, it must be allowed that defeat would have been disastrous and would have placed Virginia, which formed the backbone of the Confederate cause throughout the long struggle, at the mercy of the North.

Instead of the Confederates marching on Washington, the Federals invaded Virginia in the summer of 1861. As the military side of the war forms only a subsidiary portion of this biography, no attempt will be made to follow the campaigns in any detail. Lincoln's share in them did not relate to the marching, manoeuvring and hard fighting, but to the fortitude he displayed as chief citizen in face of misfortune and defeat, and to the skill and breadth of view shown in his plans for retrieving them and eventually ensuring the triumph of his cause. The principal event of this first and short campaign was the battle of Bull Run, fought on Sunday, 21st July 1861. The Confederates under Beauregard intended to attack the Federals at Bull Run, but, on being forestalled in their intention, stood on the defensive. The battle was a succession of blunders, and neither side showed much tactical skill, although the heroism of Stonewall Jackson claims mention. At first, victory rested with the Northern force, but, in the thick of the fighting, a change occurred, and the Federals, seized with panic, quitted the field in great disorder. The effect of a first victory is always far in excess of its real value, and there can be no doubt that Bull Run, which, by the way, is the name of a brook, and has nothing to do with the precipitate flight of the Federals, was greatly exaggerated both in the States and in Europe. It, however, saved Virginia from invasion, and once more placed Washington within, what seemed, danger of attack.

Lincoln received the news of Bull Run with keen disappointment, but also with the composure of a strong man. His immediate thought was how to repair the mishap, and, two days after the battle, he had drawn up a memorandum, suggesting different schemes for suppressing all attempts at disorder and for threatening the Confederates from more than one quarter. At the same time, he also laid the greatest stress on hastening the training of the new levies and bringing them up as fast as possible to the front, which was now the line of the Potomac. One of the indirect consequences of Bull Run was the retirement of General Scott, a veteran of the Mexican War, from the Command-in-chief, and the elevation in his place of General McClellan, an officer of much popularity, and of whom a great deal was expected, but who never did anything to justify the faith placed on him by others. He seems to have been a

timid and hesitating commander, afraid to strike when the moment arrived for action, but, while the enemy was not in front of him, full of bold schemes and sanguine expectations. Very shortly after he was entrusted with the chief command, he was confident that the war would be over in a few weeks, whereas it continued for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. Yet he seems to have been quite as competent as any other of the Union commanders in the first stages of the war, and his hold upon his troops was little short of remarkable.

Energetic himself, Lincoln, while studiously avoiding interference with the military commanders, endeavoured to inspire them with some of his own energy. The following extract from a letter to one of his Generals will show the thoroughness of his grasp of the politico-military situation :—

“ I state my general idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers, and the enemy has the greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision ; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an overmatch for his ; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points, at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both, if he makes no change ; and if he weakens one to strengthen the other, forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold the weakened one, gaining so much.”

The expression of his opinion, or the transmission of his advice, whichever form may be preferred, was made in a more formal manner, after a short time, under the heading of President's Special War Order. In January, 1862, the first of these orders was issued to General McClellan, instructing him, after providing for the defence of Washington, to advance to Manassas Junction, the point reached by the Federals prior to Bull Run. McClellan's movements were extremely dilatory, and he only proposed different plans of campaign from the suggestions of the President. Considering that he had a force far more numerous than the Confederates, his caution and hesitation were inexcusable. While they had made every preparation to retreat on the first sign of his intending to advance, he not merely remained inactive, but directed a considerable portion of his army to carry on useless operations on the Chesapeake. The evidence of the Confederate General Johnston, given after the war, shows how wrong McClellan and how right Lincoln was. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that, in July 1862, after McClellan had failed to make use of the large force at his disposal and to profit by the occasional successes that attended his efforts, the President superseded him in the chief command and entrusted the general direction of the war to General Halleck. But he was still left in command of the army of

the Potomac. The campaign of 1862 was carried on with fluctuating success, but, on the whole, it was in favour of the Confederates. Their advantages were rendered the more remarkable by the superior numbers, resources, and incredible exertions of the Washington Government. General Stonewall Jackson's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley was a brilliant performance from the skill with which he handled a force less than half the size of that opposed to him. The seven days' battles on the Chickahominy sealed the reputation of McClellan. At the head of 1,000,000 troops, he was established within a short distance of Richmond, which was defended by only 25,000 men; but he allowed himself to be terrified into inaction, while Lee fell with overwhelming numbers on the single division of Porter. As the result of the fighting on the Chickahominy, the whole Union army, which had boasted that it would finish the war in a single campaign, was in full retreat, and Lincoln's hopes were again dashed to the ground.

When McClellan received further supplies of fresh troops and renewed the campaign on the Potomac, the result was not much more encouraging. Lincoln's hopes again rose, especially after he had issued "a call for an additional force of 300,000 men," which was well responded to, and he wrote sanguinely that "I should not want the half of 300,000 new troops if I could have them now. If I had 50,000 additional troops here now, I believe I could substantially close the war in two weeks." The only result of this fresh effort was the desperate and drawn battle of Antietam, in which McClellan again let slip his opportunity. Lincoln's constant request to McClellan was: "Please do not let Lee get off without being hurt," and when he learnt that the Confederate commander had made good his retreat behind the Potomac, his chagrin was great, and found bitter expression. But if McClellan was slow in his movements during the battle, he was still more sluggish after the Confederates' retreat, and at last Lincoln's patience was finally exhausted, and McClellan was removed from all military command. The change of Generals did not bring any change of fortune. Burnside, McClellan's successor, was defeated with heavy loss at Fredericksburg, and, as the result of this disaster, was relieved of the command. The New year, 1863, brought with it an encouraging gleam of success for the army of the Union, when Rosecrans inflicted a defeat on the Confederates at Murfreesboro. Strictly speaking, the battle was drawn; but the practical advantage rested with the Unionists, and Lincoln telegraphed his warm congratulations: "God bless you and all with you! Please tender to all—and accept for yourself—the nation's gratitude for your and their skill, endurance, and dauntless courage." On Burnside's retirement, General Hooker was

entrusted with the command of the chief army in the field, and he set himself to work with energy to restore the reduced morale of the army of the Potomac. Immediately after he assumed the command, he received from Lincoln a characteristic letter, upon which he made the following comment : " He talks to me like a father, I shall not answer this letter until I have won him a great victory." The letter itself read as follows :—

" I have placed you at the head of the army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon, what appear to me to be, sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good, rather than harm ; but I think that, during General Burnside's command of the army, you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honourable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the Government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those Generals who gain successes can set up as dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you, as far as I can, to put it down. Neither you, nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness ; but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories."

Hooker was not as good as his word. Instead of giving the President the great victory he intended, he fought and lost the battle of Chancellorsville, and again the Union forces had to retire before a numerically inferior army. The Confederate success was dimmed by the death of Stonewall Jackson, who was shot by his own soldiers when riding in the front of the battle. If Lee was the head of the Confederate cause, Jackson was the arm, and the former never possessed, throughout the war, another equally able and valiant lieutenant. The retreat of the Unionists after Chancellorsville encouraged General Lee to order a general advance across the Potomac, with the view of carrying the war in

to a fresh region. After some desultory operations, all of which showed the inability of the Federal forces to check Lee's advance, Hooker asked to be relieved of his command, and General Meade was entrusted with the conduct of the campaign. The consequences of the change were satisfactory ; for, in a desperate and sanguinary three-days' battle at Gettysburg, the Confederates were defeated, and General Lee felt compelled to retreat across the Potomac into Virginia. This he succeeded in doing without loss, by some masterly movements. Lincoln was terribly upset that the fruits of so great a victory were thrown away. He believed, and probably correctly, that if the enemy had been energetically attacked on the fourth day, the whole of Lee's army would have been destroyed, or compelled to surrender.

Lincoln wrote, on hearing that Lee had succeeded in crossing the Potomac : " We had them within our grasp ! We had only to stretch forth our hands, and they were ours, and nothing I could say, or do, could make this army move." He had been unfavourably impressed by General Meade speaking of " driving the invaders from our soil." He said, on reading it : " This is a dreadful reminiscence of McClellan ; it is the same spirit as moved him to claim a great victory, because Pennsylvania and Maryland were safe. Will our Generals never get that idea out of their heads ? The whole country is our soil." The same views and implied censure were expressed with greater emphasis in a letter quoted by the author, but which Lincoln never sent.

Chancellorsville was not the last reverse of the Union army of the Potomac. Rosecrans, appointed to succeed Meade, was defeated with much loss, and for a time held in close beleaguement at Chickamanga. That defeat, signal as it was, was not so severe as was at first supposed. and, even in the full sense of his disappointment, Lincoln confidently wrote : " I think he would better be informed that we are not pushing him beyond this position, and that in fact our judgment is rather against his going beyond it. If he can only maintain this position, without more, this rebellion can only eke out a short and feeble existence, as an animal sometimes may with a thorn in its vitals." While the fortunes of the main Union army were thus chequered, if not unfavourable, a new commander had been gaining some considerable successes in the West. His name was General Ulysses Grant. He had first attracted notice by his capture of Fort Donelson in 1862, and the advantages he obtained on the Mississippi in April 1863, partially relieved the gloom arising from the failure at Gettysburg. He was now called to the Potomac to assist Rosecrans in forcing the Confederate lines in front of the new position which he had taken up at Chattanooga. Immediately after his arrival, he assumed the offensive, and, owing to the Confederate General having weakened his

force by detaching Longstreet's division, gained a decisive victory on 25th November 1863, which marks the real turning point of the war. In consequence of the skill shown in all his movements, or of the good fortune which attended them, Grant was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General—a grade specially created by Congress—and with it to the command of the armies of the United States.

Grant at once determined to employ the full strength of his army in a connected forward movement, of which Richmond and Lee's main force were the objective points. The campaign opened in April, 1864, when Grant had under his orders 122,000 efficient troops and the Confederates 62,000. The desperate fighting which ensued in what is called the Wilderness—the thickly wooded and difficult country north of Richmond,—and during which Lee displayed a strategical and tactical skill that has placed him in the front rank of commanders, and during which also, it must be stated, Grant showed a tenacity of purpose and resolution that, added to superior resources, rendered success in the end a mathematical certainty. The exact course of the campaign must be followed in the work itself, but here it may be said that Lee, after successfully checking all Grant's efforts to carry his lines, resolved to make a counter-attack upon Shenandoah Valley, by means of which he hoped to compel Grant either to retreat, or to attack him in the almost impregnable position which he occupied at Petersburg. This delicate operation was entrusted to General Early, and although it failed, the blame does not seem due to any neglect or incapacity on his part. Early got round Washington and attacked it from the North; but, before he had done this, a strong Union force had arrived, and the capital was saved from a *coup de main*. Early then retreated, and Lee's scheme of diverting the attention of the Federal commanders collapsed. Up to this point, although the converging forces of the Union, drawing nearer and nearer to Richmond every week, forbade confidence at the capital of Virginia, there was still valid ground for hope that Lee might wear out Grant, and that the Union army would be again driven to the Northern side of the Potomac. But Early's failure marked the decisive turning point in the war against the South. General Lee held his position at Petersburg intact throughout the year 1864, notwithstanding the energy and frequency of Grant's efforts to expel him. Sherman's famous march to the sea and capture of Savannah in December, and the decisive defeats of Hobart, Franklin and Nashville, furnished a striking and significant close for the year; and, if nothing had happened to shake Lee's claim to be the premier commander of America, Grant had shown a tenacity of purpose that made him a formidable opponent.

The campaign of 1865 began in February, and from the very beginning it was clear that the Confederates had no chance of success. Lee's own troops were kept without food for several days, and although by a supreme effort supplies were obtained, the Southern army had lost heart and all hope of victory. The operations began with overtures for a convention from General Lee; but Lincoln peremptorily rejected them, stating that there was to be "no conference with General Lee unless it be for capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter." The Union success at Five Forks, when Lee's right was shattered, led to the final assault on the lines of Petersburg, from which Lee was driven. The Confederate leader hoped to reach Appomattox and renew the contest, but his exhausted troops were outmarched, and Lee had no alternative than to surrender. Richmond was occupied by the Union forces and visited by Lincoln. General Johnston, the only other Confederate General commanding a considerable force in the field, felt compelled, on learning of Lee's overthrow, to surrender, on similar terms, to General Grant himself, after a preliminary convention with Sherman, which was disapproved of and repudiated by the Government. Although Jefferson Davis had hoped and believed that the struggle might be continued after the fall of Richmond—he had issued a proclamation, after the loss of his General, his army, and his capital, stating merely that the Confederates had "now entered upon a new phase of the struggle." Not merely was "the back of the rebellion broken," but the Southern people were so sick of the war, that they not only abstained from all hostility towards the Union forces, but showed every sign of fraternising with them. Davis himself was captured in May, but, one month before that event, the career of Abraham Lincoln was brought to a close by the bullet of Booth.

We have thus summarised the course of the war and Lincoln's connexion with it. It will be seen that, although he did not command in the field and was careful on almost every occasion not to interfere with the legitimate work of the professional soldier, he represented, throughout the whole struggle, the indomitable spirit and unflagging belief in the superior resources and in the justice of the cause of the North, which rose above all the temporary discomfiture and disasters that too commonly masked the earlier campaigns. When every one else despaired of the success of the Union, Lincoln's confidence remained unabated in the result, and he succeeded in imbuing his Generals with some of his own courage and fortitude. Had he found in the early phases of the war a General who was as well able to carry out in practice his wishes and theories as Grant showed himself to be in the last year of the struggle, there is little doubt that it would have been brought to a much earlier close than proved

to be the case. He kept alive not merely the spirit of the North under adversity, but even the principle of Union for which the whole contest had begun. The quotations made will establish the truth of this statement ; but the exhortations to the commanders of the army in the field and the efforts made to keep that army in a state of efficiency and constantly increasing superiority, form only one part of Lincoln's work as President. His statesmanship was shown by the manner in which he kept the life in, and gradually intensified public opinion on, the subject of slavery—the *causa teterrima belli*.

Although, on one occasion, in the early days of his political career, he had used words expressing his conviction that slavery must be put an end to, the general tone of his speeches was moderate and in favour of a compromise, until brought face to face with the difficulty by the stern reality of war. The consideration and care for the opinions of others, displayed in his Inauguration Speech, and his evident desire to ensure a pacific solution of all difficulties, have already been referred to, and, during the first year of the war, they were as conspicuous in his acts as in his writings. But the protracted and uncertain character of the war put an end to all half-measures, and compelled Lincoln to define his position towards slavery and slaveholding very clearly, and partly as a matter of principle, but also as a matter of policy, which obliged him to attract to his side all possible sources of strength and to utilise them against a foe who had proved unexpectedly formidable. The first measure he took was of a tentative character, in March 1862, when he induced Congress to pass a Resolution in favour of the compensated abolishment of slavery, couched in the following language :—

“That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.”

The experience of a few months' further campaigning compelled him to substitute in his programme military for compensated emancipation. He even drew up a draft of a proclamation which, “while renewing his tender of compensation to Loyal States which would adopt gradual abolishment, added a summary military order, as Commander-in-Chief, declaring free the slaves of all States which might be in rebellion in January 1863.” This proclamation was entirely his own work. Its revelation came upon his Cabinet as a surprise, but it was not opposed, even by those who were suspected to have the greatest toleration for slavery. In deference to Seward's opinion, that the issue of the proclamation should be postponed until it could be given to the country supported by military success, Lincoln

at once postponed the publication. Lincoln gave his opinion very candidly on the motive that prompted him in taking this step, and the objects he hoped to attain by it:—

“ Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope in the plan of operations we had been pressing ; that we had almost played our last card and must change our tactics or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy, and, without consultation with, or the knowledge of, the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought.” The emancipation proclamation was finally read to, and passed by the Cabinet on 22nd September, and published on the following day. It was received with general approval in the North, and not less general disapprobation and indignation in the South, where the forcible emancipation of the slaves provided a fresh incentive for continuing the struggle to the end, and with increased determination. There can be no doubt that it focussed the interest of the war and demonstrated the main principle at stake. It was not merely a question of the Union. There was the scarcely less vital or interesting problem of the Institution of Slavery. As Lincoln said in his message to Congress: “ Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed ; without slavery, it could not continue.” The real points at issue were thus brought into clearness for the benefit of public opinion, and at the same time, Lincoln expressed and proved his determination to utilize all the means within his reach to attain their solution in accordance with his own views. The proclamation of Emancipation, or Edict of Freedom, as it is called, gave the black every inducement to coalesce with the Union forces; and Lincoln at once obtained the support of a continually increasing and most useful Negro contingent for the active prosecution of the war. His views on the subject were thus expressed in a private letter:—

“ Any different policy in regard to the coloured man deprives us of his help, and this is more than we can spare. We cannot spare the hundred and forty or fifty thousand now serving us as soldiers, seamen and labourers. This is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured and estimated as horse-power and steam-power are measured and estimated. Keep it and you can save the Union. Throw it away, and the Union goes with it.” And, again, with exceptional candour, he said: “ But no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion. Freedom has given us 200,000 men raised on Southern soil. It will give us more yet ; just so much it has subtracted from the enemy. Let my enemies

prove to the country that the destruction of slavery is not necessary to a restoration of the Union : I will abide the issue."

The practical value of the military co-operation of the Negroes was undeniably great. One year after the edict, 50,000 late slaves were bearing arms in the Union ranks, and four months' later they, had increased to 71,000. At the close of the war 123,000 Negroes formed a contingent "of 120 regiments of infantry, 12 regiments of heavy artillery, 10 companies of light artillery and 7 regiments of cavalry." These troops fought well and formed an invaluable auxiliary force. It is stated by the authors of this work, that "practical trial in skirmish and battle proved the gallantry and reliability of the black soldier in the severest trials of devotion and heroism." In maintaining the Union, the co-operation of the Negro was a useful and perhaps essential factor ; it was obtained only by Lincoln's statesmanlike decision to decree his general emancipation.

Before describing the closing scenes of Lincoln's life, something should be said of the relations between the Union Government and the States of Europe, which are accused, and not without some justice, of having felt greater sympathy with the South. American feeling was very bitter at the time, and at once revives, in undiminished force, whenever the subject is mentioned, at what it called the covert hostility of the Governments of England and France. Strangely enough, the resentment against France, which took far more pronounced steps and favoured a more vigorous line of action than England, has almost, if not completely, died out, while that against this country still retains, unfortunately, much of its force. The Americans are pleased to consider the favouring of the South by France "the policy of Napoleon," whose régime has passed away, and, with it, their resentment, while our cousinly attitude remains a permanent mark for their indignation. Yet public opinion in England was very evenly divided as to the merits and chances of the war, and that at a time when even Lincoln himself began to doubt and to admit that he was "reaching the end of his rope," and the action of our Government was always guarded, and it also resisted the temptation to accept Napoleon's invitation to interfere in the nominal interests of peace. Americans, who, we must suppose, are as interested and anxious as we should be, to maintain amicable relations between the two great divisions of the English-speaking race, should also recollect that our first contact with the North after the secession of South Carolina, was not of a nature to inspire much goodwill. The *Trent* affair produced an immense sensation in England at the time, and the vigorous military and naval preparations taken thereupon indicated how resolved both the country and the Government were to obtain full reparation for the very high-handed

proceeding of the Federal Captain Wilkes in removing the Confederate Commissioners Slidell and Mason by force from the British steamer *Trent*. The act itself was not improved by Captain Wilkes' published declaration that he had thought of treating the *Trent* as prize, or by the unanimous vote of Congress to him for his "brave, adroit, and patriotic conduct," Lincoln's policy was revealed in the following conversation: "I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants. We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting, by theory and practice, on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act and demand their release, we must give them up, apologise for the act, as a violation of our doctrines, and thus for ever bind her over to keep the peace, in relation to neutrals, and to acknowledge that she has been wrong for sixty years." If there is any complaint to be made against the fairness of the author of this work, it is in connexion with this incident and with the other passages relating to opinion in this country on the war. As is well known, the *Trent* affair was closed with an apology from Mr. Seward and the release of the Confederate Commissioners; but there can be no doubt that it left an unpleasant feeling, which continued for some time in the relations between Washington and London. Even the tie of a common language is not sufficient to restore immediate cordiality after two great nations are so near to the verge of war as England and the States were in December 1861.

At the same time that the *Trent* affair threatened to bring matters to a crisis between ourselves and the States, the Mexican episode further embittered the feeling in the Northern States at what was considered the prejudice of Europeans. The tone in which the authors discuss and describe this incident after the lapse of thirty years is much to be regretted. Such phrases as "the enemies of the Union all over the world," "the hostility of the European Powers," and "the frank disrespect" of the British Minister's despatches contrasted with "the exquisite courtesy"—a rather ridiculous phrase, as applied here, to those who have read the official despatches in the Blue Book on Mexico—of the Mexican Foreign Minister, might have been excusable at the time when America resented, and felt herself unable to prevent the interference of Europe in part of the North American Continent, but they are out of place in a calm and authoritative historical work such as this claims to be. Considering the sincere desire we have to be on good terms and to preserve an enduring peace with our American cousins, it is a pity that Colonel Hay and Mr. Nicolay should stir up the dead embers of a forgotten controversy. The con-

vocation signed by England, France and Spain for the purpose of obtaining redress from the Mexicans by joint action was signed on 31st October, 1861, and one of the first steps taken was to invite Mr. Lincoln's Government to become a party to it, as some American subjects had claims against Mexico. Mr. Lincoln declined; but the offer showed that the intention of the English Government, at least, in intervening in Mexico, covered no hostile scheme to the United States. With the development of the Mexican question, which was marked by the proclamation of the unfortunate Maximilian and the despatch of Bazaine's ill-starred expedition, England had little or nothing to do. The more deeply Napoleon became involved in Mexico, the more anxious was he to intervene by mediation, or more actively, between the North and the South. The permanent success of his policy could have been secured only by the disruption of the Union. He made overtures to England and Russia for a joint offer of mediation, but both countries declined to join him. This was hardly evidence of the English hostility to which the authors more than once refer. And when Napoleon informed the Washington Government of his desire and willingness to undertake a friendly mediation, it was in his own name and for France alone that he spoke. An impartial view of the transaction will certainly not justify the author's statement when speaking of it as "the veiled hostility of European Powers."

With regard to English opinion on the merits of the war during its progress, and particularly during the earlier stages, a correct description would be to say that it was much, and perhaps equally, divided. If there was at one time a somewhat preponderating view that the North would fail to coerce the South, it was based on the opinions of the Northerners themselves, on the statements of Lincoln's own generals and supporters, among whom Lincoln alone, at the worst hour of the struggle, never lost heart. Americans should make allowance for these facts, and Englishmen might have hoped that the evidence they gave in settling the Alabama difficulty by a sacrifice of money and *amour propre*, would have obliterated the old anti-English feeling in the North, and prevented its being perpetuated in the American standard life of Abraham Lincoln, without a single admission that the English nation had since done everything in its power to atone for a brief error in judgment.

Lincoln, re-elected President by an overwhelming majority in November, 1864, over his Democrat rival, General McClellan, who sought to gain in politics the reputation and position he had lost as a soldier, visited Richmond after it had been fired and evacuated by the Confederates. He had, therefore, the personal satisfaction of witnessing the closing scenes of the

war and the practical collapse of the Southern power. On the 4th April, 1865, Lincoln walked through the rebel city, which was still on fire and occupied by disbanded Confederate soldiers. Ten days afterwards, he was back in Washington, ready to take his part in the ceremonies of Thanksgiving-day, which had been fixed for Good Friday, 14th April, 1865. The closing ceremony of that day was to be the President's visit to Ford's Theatre. The publication of this fact had convinced the fanatic Booth, that the occasion had come to carry out the plot of assassination upon which he had long been brooding. Intimately acquainted with the interior of the building, from his pursuit as an actor, no place could have been found better suited for the execution of his purpose. The details of the plot must be followed in the pages of the biography. Suffice it here to say that Booth succeeded in carrying out his execrable purpose, and that Lincoln was shot from behind, while sitting in his box, at the close of the day which marked his own and the national triumph. Booth escaped at the time, but was run down, after some months pursuit, and shot on the point of capture.

The assassination of Lincoln created profound consternation in America and unfeigned sympathy throughout the civilised world. This tragic ending of a remarkable career seemed to give a sort of epic grandeur to a life which had been far removed from the common, and which had been closely bound up with the throes of a mighty people in a crisis of its existence. The shortest, and perhaps the best, epitaph passed on his career was that calling him "America's greatest son." We may conclude by quoting some of the most remarkable comments which were passed upon him after his death. General Grant, who had served him in the field, made a speech at the opening of the Lincoln memorial at Springfield, in which he said :—

"From March, 1864, to the day when the hand of the assassin opened a grave for Mr. Lincoln, then President of the United States, my personal relations with him were as close and intimate as the nature of our respective duties would permit. To know him personally was to love and respect him for his great qualities of heart and head, and for his patience and patriotism. With all his disappointments, from failures on the part of those to whom he had intrusted commands, and treachery on the part of those who had gained his confidence but to betray it, I never heard him utter a complaint, nor cast a censure for bad conduct or bad faith. It was his nature to find excuses for his adversaries. In his death, the nation lost its greatest hero ; in his death, the South lost its most just friend." Cashelton called him "the humblest of the humble before his conscience, greatest of the great before history." The French compared him to Henry of Navarre,

the Dutch to William of Orange, and Mr. Disraeli said, in his speech on the motion of condolence: "There is in the character of the victim, and even in the accessories of his last moments, something so homely and innocent, that it takes the question as it were out of all the pomp of history and the ceremonial of diplomacy; it touches the heart of nations and appeals to the domestic sentiment of mankind."

The universal testimony to the greatness of Lincoln's work and personal character rendered at the moment of his tragic death, has been confirmed by the more deliberate opinion formed during the last twenty-five years. Complete as was the victory gained by the North over the South, at the moment of his murder, there was no certainty that the Union could ever recover its original strength, or the States their former prosperity. Whole provinces had suffered from the ravages of a war only sustained on the part of one combatant by the most ruthless exactions on the inhabitants, and on that of the other by raising a monumental debt on terms which seemed to anticipate the highest attainable degree of prosperity for half a century. Lincoln had obtained a complete triumph for his cause and for that part of the nation which he represented, but its value was not, at the moment of his disappearance from the political arena, so evident as it is to us to-day. The wholly unprecedented growth of the United States in wealth, which enabled the Government to wipe out, in the course of a few years, the ponderous burden of debt left by the great struggle, could not have been reasonably anticipated in 1865. The fame of Lincoln will necessarily increase with the increasing results of the work which he accomplished in the greatest crisis of the history of the American people. It stood at the time of his murder already on so sure a foundation, that the greatest statesmen and thinkers of Europe did not hesitate to pay to his memory a tribute rarely accorded to the most illustrious potentates. At that date, however, the events in which he played his part were too near, and the predominating share he took in controlling them was too little known, to divest even those tributes of being in some degree qualified as personal testimonials, through being biased by a desire to propitiate the opinion of Americans themselves. History, which cares nothing for the vanity of peoples or individuals, will more than endorse everything that was said of the great President by his sincere or insincere adulators. She will award him the highest meed for courage, consistency and fortitude under the most adverse circumstances. Nor will the lowly origin and the difficulties over which he struggled, to attain, not merely a physical, but an intellectual, pre-eminence among his countrymen, be for-

gotten, and the career of the humble backwoodsman who rose to the Presidentship of the United States will serve for ever as an example to his own and other races. He was great in council and in war. His speeches and proclamations roused national enthusiasm and formed public opinion. His plans, or rather suggestions, for the successive campaigns gained for him the title, conceded long after his death by one of his most distinguished Generals, of "the greatest strategist of the war." His simple habits, his ignorance of fear, the spotless purity of his public life, justified the confidence of his countrymen, whose favourite appellation for him was "Honest old Abe." The determination he showed at all times to rest satisfied with nothing short of the absolute and unqualified success of the Union has been dwelt upon, and was worthy alike of himself and of a people who, after all, are as much Anglo-Saxon as we ourselves. But, perhaps, of all his qualities none should excite our admiration more than his moderation in victory. Few men of modern or ancient times would have spared the South, after its overthrow, as he spared it. There was not a single execution or proscription, and that this was the case was due to Lincoln alone. The fact remains to his eternal credit, and I cannot better close this article, which is an attempt to show his controlling influence on the war, than by quoting his final exhortation on the subject, given in the last order to his Cabinet, and which was a word of peace and goodwill for the American nation:—"No one need expect he would take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. Frighten them out of the country, open the gates, let down the bars, scare them off. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment, if we expect harmony and union."

ART. III.—THE TURKS IN THE MOREA.

[Continued from No. CLXXXVII. for January 1892.]

THE Historian, Finlay, makes the following pertinent observations on the loss of the Morea to Venice: "The facility with which the Ottoman arms had conquered Greece, and the feeble resistance which Venice offered to an invading army, after the care with which the administration of the Morea had been organised during a period of eighteen years, affords an instructive lesson in the history of the government of foreign dependencies. There is no sure basis of the subjection of any foreign nation, unless there be a decided superiority of military power on the part of the rulers: and no scientific administrative combinations can secure good government and equitable administration of justice, unless private individuals are courageous, honest, and deeply imbued with a love of truth and with self-respect."

The sloth, luxury and love of wealth of the Venetian nobility and official class was the principal cause of their loss of the Morea; their trust in the loyalty and support of the Greeks proved utterly misplaced. The professions of loyalty, and vaunting boasts of the irregular Greek soldiery, completely deceived their Venetian masters; and the interest of the priesthood was enlisted on the side of the Turks, through their influence with the Patriarch at Constantinople. But the chief principle of action with the Greeks seems to have been, dislike of the foreign master of the time and welcome of any change; for when the Venetians conquered the Morea, we find the Greek population taking part with them against the Turks; and when the Turks, in their turn, expelled the Venetians, we find the Greeks taking the part of the Turks. Physically weak and morally timid, the degenerate sons of Hellas ranged themselves always on the winning side, without a thought but for their own immediate safety.

The Turkish administration was now re-established in the Morea. The churches were again turned into mosques; the dispossessed sipáhis returned and resumed their lands. All the Greek renegades, who had recanted from Islam, were mercilessly put to death, and their plea, that they had only conformed to Christianity on compulsion, was disregarded. But the Musalmans never returned into Greece in their former numbers. When the Venetians conquered the Morea, the Musalman population numbered fifty thousand: after the re-conquest by the Turks, it did not exceed half that number.

The Emperor of Germany had declared war against the Porte for its infraction of the treaty of Carlowitz, and the stars had told Dámád 'Ali that he should enter Buda in triumph that year. After settling the Government of Greece, he despatched Kará Mustafá Páshá and Jánam Khojáh, with a mighty armament, against the island of Corfu, and he himself set out with the Grand Army for the conquest of Hungary.

Corfu was garrisoned by Field Marshal Von Schulemberg and some German troops whom the Republic had hired in its extremity : it was furiously assailed and desperately defended ; and the old Turkish tactics, which had proved so successful at Nauplia, were found vain against the skill and discipline of scientific soldiers. Whole columns of the 'Osmánli warriors fell in their repeated and furious attacks ; and the garrison was reduced to a handful of men, and must have succumbed to the final general assault, but for the ill-regulated fury of the Turkish soldiers, who precipitated themselves in wild confusion upon the strongest points of the works. A body of them had actually entered the place ; but Schulemberg, at the head of a picked corps of grenadiers whom he had kept in reserve, made a desperate charge upon them, sword in hand, and drove them out again. Appalled at their losses, the Turkish leaders re-embarked the remainder of their troops and abandoned the siege.

Dámád 'Ali Kumárji met with still worse fortune in Hungary, for Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated him in a pitched battle, and 'Ali was mortally wounded while trying to rally his flying troops. The vain young man had said, when told that Prince Eugene was a great general : 'Then I shall become a greater, and at his expense.' His last order was to behead General Breuner and all the German prisoners ; and he added : 'Oh ! that I could thus serve all the Christian dogs !' A speech and act, says Lord Byron, not unlike that of Caligula. His defeat and death terminated the last aggressive war ever waged by the Turks against a Christian nation. The German Emperor granted peace to the Sultan on the basis of *uti possidetis* ; by which Austria gained Belgrade and Servia, and Venice lost the Morea. But she was too weak to carry on the war alone, and was perforce obliged to submit to the dictation of her powerful ally.

The decline of the Turkish and Musalman power was now patent to the whole world. From this time forth began the long struggle of the Greek and Slav subjects of the Sultan for religious liberty and political independence which has continued to our own time. The relations between the Turks and the Christian R'áyás now became quite changed : formerly the Musalmans had treated the Christians as valuable property

like so many sheep or oxen, with little regard for their feelings or opinions: now the Porte felt itself obliged to pursue a conciliatory policy towards the R'áyás, to avoid giving the Christian powers an occasion for interfering on their behalf, as well as to guard against insurrection, which might have had unforeseen consequences.

On the other hand, every concession made to the Christians irritated the prejudices and alarmed the pride of the Musalmans; and thus the natural antipathy of the rival creeds and races was continually fostered and increased.

The more the Sultan's administration favoured the Christians, the more the Turks ill-used them; and the anarchy into which the Empire was gradually sinking, allowed a free rein to the petty tyranny of provincial governors, and the vexatious insolence of the ruling race. The Musalman domination was no longer as oppressive as of old; but it was infinitely more harassing. The tyranny of a strong government can only be endured: that of a weak one will certainly be resented.

At this time also appeared a new Power on the Eastern political horizon; Russia, emancipated by Peter the Great, was fast becoming a mighty nation; and the eyes of the Orthodox Greeks, who had deserted the cause of Catholic Venice, and had looked on with apathy at the conquests of German and Polish heretics, were now fixed eagerly on the "Divine Figure from the North," which held out to them the promise of salvation and redemption under the Greek Cross. Russian agents and spies had already commenced their ceaseless work; and the warrior bands of Montenegro had formed an alliance with the Russian Czar. The distinction between Slav and Greek was lost in the unity of the Orthodox Church. The Greeks began to look eagerly to Russia as their deliverer; and strange stories were rumoured among the peasants of the Morea, of a shining Cross having been seen suspended in the air over the Mosque of Ayá Sofía (Saint Sophia,) in the Imperial City of the Cæsars and the Sultans.

When the Empress Catherine the Second contemplated war with the Turks, she determined to utilise the enthusiasm of the Greeks for her own purposes, and to create a diversion in the Morea in favour of her operations on the Danube. In 1764 the intrigues of Russia, which inflicted on the Greeks so many misfortunes, were actively commenced. Many of the Mainote chiefs and Greek priests and headmen were gained over by bribes and promises; and a Russian propaganda was secretly carried on in the Morea. The Turks gained some knowledge of what was going on: but they had no precise information, and they did not dream of a Russian squadron ever coming into the Mediterranean. War was declared by the Porte

against Russia early in 1769, and towards the end of the same year, a Russian fleet entered the Mediterranean, and passed the winter at Port Mahon in Minorca. In the spring of 1770 it appeared off the coast of Maina, where it landed a Russian battalion of five hundred men, some Greek officers who were to lead the expected insurrection, and some arms and Russian uniforms.

The Mainotes, delighted at any prospect of war and plunder, joined the Russians at once; but the leading men of the Greek patriots were bitterly disappointed at the small force of the Russians; they had hoped for at least ten thousand men, for they knew the Greeks were utterly unable to hold their own against the Turks in fight. However, the insurrection began; the Sphakiotes in Crete flew to arms, and many of them crossed over the Maina. Several thousand Greeks flocked to the Russian camp, where they were armed and organised in two bodies called the Spartan and Messenian legions. The Russian General, Feodore Orloff, marched with his battalion and the Messenian legion to besiege Coron, which was garrisoned by only four hundred Turks. The Spartan legion, in conjunction with the Mainotes, marched on Misitra, took the town, and massacred all the Musalmans in it; the Mainotes plundered the houses of Turks and Christians indiscriminately. The insurrection spread all over the Southern districts. The Turks were everywhere cut off and murdered, and their property plundered.

In the North, the Greeks were kept in check by the fear of the Turks; but at Missolonghi in Continental Greece, the people rose, and compelled the Turks in the town to retire to Patras. But a squadron of Turkish corsairs of Dulcigno in the Adriatic, which was cruising off the coast, hearing of the events at Missolonghi, sailed thither, and attacked the place, and took it after a desperate resistance. Many of the Greeks were massacred; the rest escaped to the islands belonging to Venice. These corsairs had been employed in transporting Arnaut soldiers from Albania to Patras, for the Morea was stripped of Turkish soldiers, who had all been sent to fight the Russians on the Danube. The Porte, therefore, had recourse to the Musalman Arnauts of Epirus, proclaiming a Jehád against the Giaurs in the Morea.

They responded to the call in thousands; all who could obtain transport came by sea, the rest marched by land. The Páshá of the Morea, Muhammad Amin, ordered all the Turks in the country to assemble at Tarabulusa (Tripolizza), the headquarters of his government; and he directed the Arnaut reinforcements to repair thither also. Meanwhile, another Russian squadron had arrived at Navarin, commanded by the elder

brother of Feodore, Alexis Orloff, the lover of the Empress and the murderer of her husband. He infused a little vigour into the operations, but so much time had been wasted that the vanguard of six thousand Arnaúts had already arrived at Tripolizza. The whole insurgent army was now concentrated to attack that place; it is said to have amounted to fifteen thousand men, only four hundred of whom were Russians. The Turks were inferior in numbers, the six thousand Arnaúts had only just arrived in the nick of time, and they were supported by the Turkish cavalry of the province, and by volunteers who had hastened to assist them from beyond the Isthmus under the command of Ni'amatzáda, Páshá of Trikkala, Mudarris 'Osman Beg of Larissa, and 'Ali Aghá of Chatalja. The Turks advanced without hesitation to the attack; and their first charge scattered the insurgent rabble like chaff. The Russian battalion alone stood fast, and was cut to pieces, the soldiers dying in their ranks to a man. Three thousand Greeks were slain in the pursuit, and the next day the "Mitran" (Archbishop) of Tripolizza and several other Bishops, were hanged by order of the Páshá, for having connived at the insurrection.

Fresh bodies of Albanians came pouring into the peninsula; the Russian camp before Coron was broken up, and all their guns and stores taken; the Mainotes were driven back into their mountains; and Alexis Orloff and his brother embarked at Navarin and sailed away, leaving the unfortunate Greeks to their fate.

The Russian fleet passed on into the Levant, where they engaged and completely destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Cheshma; but they failed in an attempt to master the island of Lemnos. They remained in the Levant until the treaty of Kainarji was signed, in 1774, but they accomplished nothing of importance. "Never," said the traveller Bruce, who was then in the Levant, "was there an expedition so successful and so distant, where the officers were less instructed from the Cabinet, more ignorant of the countries, more given to useless parade, and more intoxicated with pleasure, than the Russians in the Mediterranean then were."

Muhammad Amin Páshá, who was commonly called Mohsin-záda, upon the departure of the Russians, assumed the proud title of Fátih-i-Mora (Conqueror of the Morea.) He proclaimed an amnesty to all the insurgents who submitted; but his proclamation was disregarded and his authority set at nought by the Arnaút bands, who ravaged the whole county, and treated all Christians as conquered enemies, massacring the men in order to make slaves of the women and children. The Páshá and the Turks had to fly from their fury and take refuge in the

castles. The taxes were collected by the Arnaút captains, under pretence of recovering the arrears of pay due to them by the Porte.

These ruffians remained in possession of the Morea for five years, during which time they lived at free quarters on the country and enjoyed the revenues of the Turks, as well as the fruits of the labour of the Christians. At last, the Sultan sent Gházi Hasan, the Kapitán Páshá who had defeated the Russians at Lemnos, to restore order in the Morea. Hasan landed at Nauplia with four thousand Janissaries and a train of field artillery, and was joined by the cavalry of the Morea and of the neighbouring provinces. The Arnaúts concentrated their forces to withstand him at Tripolizza, and a pitched battle was fought, in which the skill of Hasan and the fire of his artillery gained a complete victory. The Turks now hunted down and exterminated the Arnaút Musalmans as mercilessly as the latter had exterminated the insurgent Christians. The heads of their captains were sent to adorn the gate of the Sultan's Sarái in Istambol, while a huge pyramid of the bleached skulls of the soldiers was piled up at the gate of Tripolizza. Hasan restored the old administration of the Morea and exercised the office of Páshá of the province for some time, till he had brought it into working order. He again separated the district of Maina from the Sanják of the Morea, and made it an appanage of the Kapitán Páshá. In that capacity he visited Maina with the Ottoman fleet next year, put down piracy with a strong hand, and hanged one of the chiefs in his Russian uniform from the main-yard of his flagship. He refurnished the forts on the coast, again stationed Turkish soldiers in them, and appointed one of the Christian chiefs Beg of Maina, making him responsible for the behaviour of the rest.

But the irrepressible Mainotes were soon again upon the war-path. In 1787 war broke out again between Russia and the Porte. This time the naval war with Sweden prevented the Empress from sending a fleet into the Mediterranean, but she granted letters of marque to all Greeks who applied for them; and the pirates of Maina and all the Grecian isles now hoisted the Russian flag. The chief among them was Lambro Katzones, who had the rank of Major in the Russian Army, and who commanded a fleet of twelve privateers. An Algerine squadron of superior strength, which he imprudently engaged, at length destroyed his fleet; but he fitted out a few more vessels, and did great harm and mischief to the Turks, until the end of the war. He was then obliged to strike the Russian flag; and he made the coast of Maina his head-quarters and base of operations. He was now nothing but a pirate, and behaved as one, plundering all merchant ships that he was strong enough to tackle.

He having captured two French ships, a French squadron joined the fleet of the Kapitán Páshá, and they jointly attacked his stronghold in Maina. The pirate crews fled to the shore, their ships were all taken, and the forts destroyed: Lambro himself escaped to the Venetian islands.

These Russian privateers became the greatest pests in the Levant, most of them being really pirates, manned by the scum of all sea-faring nations. They perpetrated the most horrid cruelties on all Turks who were so unlucky as to fall into their hands, and made most of their booty by robbing the Christian subjects of the Sultan, the unfortunate Greeks, who, as usual, suffered, whichever side won. The privateers had even no scruple about robbing the churches of their plate and vestments. When the war was over, most of the privateers continued to cruise as pirates, and the Ægean was full of Greek corsairs.

The pirates had their counterpart ashore, in the Klephts, or brigands, who infested all the mountain passes, and combined the practice of robbery with the profession of patriotism.

The anarchy of Greece, after the Russian invasion and the Arnaút occupation, drove all the boldest spirits among the R'áyás to the company of Klephts in the woods and mountains. It is in these troubled times that Lord Byron laid the scene of his poem of the "Giaur," and in it he has given a graphic picture of the desolation of the homestead of a Musalman land-owner. The scene where the Turkish A'ghá is waylaid in the mountain pass by a band of Arnaút marauders, is also true to life, and many such encounters took place in that troubled time.

In the early days of the present century the Turkish Empire seemed at its last gasp. It had arrived at that stage of Oriental political evolution when the Provincial Governors throw off the central authority and found new dynasties of their own. Pásbán Oghli, the Páshá of Vadán (Widdin), Jezzar (the Butcher), Páshá of Akka (Acre), Muhammed 'Ali, Páshá of Egypt, and 'Ali Páshá of Yániná, were all virtually independent, kept up their own armies, and made treaties and alliances with foreign Powers, without reference to their master the Sultan. There was civil strife among the Turks themselves: the Osmánlis were ranged in two hostile camps: the reforming Sultans and their few partisans were on one side; the 'Ulema, the Janissaries, and the mass of the nation were on the other. The Christians were in a ferment throughout the Empire; the ideas of the French Revolution and the doctrine of the Rights of Man had penetrated even into the Balkan peninsula.

"Throughout the East," says Finlay, "it was felt that the hour for a great struggle for independence on the part of the Greeks had arrived. The Greek Revolution was a social and political necessity. National sovereignty is an inherent right of the people, as civil liberty is of the individual. Men know instinctively that there are conditions and times when the rebellion of subject nations and of disfranchised citizens becomes a duty.

The liberties of nations are from God and Nature, not from Kings and Governments. The whole history of the Ottoman domination in Greece attests that the Greeks were perpetually urged by every feeling of religion and humanity to take up arms against their tyrants. The dignity of man called upon them to efface the black stain of their long submission to the tribute of Christian children from the character of the Hellenic race, by some supreme act of self-sacrifice."

At the beginning of the present century Greece was divided into four great provinces, each governed by a Páshá of three horse-tails. These were: Thessaly, of which the Páshá resided at Selánik (Salonica), Yániná, which comprised all Western Greece: Aghribúz (Negropont), which included all the Eastern Districts, with Eubœa and Attica: the fourth province was the Morea. Crete was a separate province; and the isles of Greece and the district of Maina formed the province of the Kapitán Páshá. These provinces were sub-divided into Sanjaks under Páshás of two or one horse-tails.

But the Páshás and Sanjak Begs were no longer military chiefs. The old feudal organization of the 'Osmánli nation had quite fallen into decay. The Z'aims and Timariots had become farmers and tax-gatherers, the Janissaries were shop-keepers in the towns. The Musalman population in Greece was, moreover, declining, not only in military strength, but in wealth and numbers. "By some inexplicable social law," says the English historian of the Greek Revolution, Finlay, "a dominant race almost invariably consumes life and riches more rapidly than it supplies them." The Turks in Greece were a haughty, ignorant, and lazy race; and, with the natural arrogance of a dominant caste, they despised their Greek subjects too profoundly ever to fear them.

The Greeks, on the other hand, were advancing in wealth and knowledge. Many Greeks had been taken under the protection of Russia, where ambassadors and consuls were always ready to grant "beráts," or certificates of naturalization, to any Greeks who applied, or who would pay for them. Consequently, Greek trade revived throughout the East under the Russian, or some other foreign flag. The Sultan, seeing this, and powerless to prevent it, sought to neutralize it by granting

special privileges to Greek trading communities ; and commercial centres were thus formed at Hydra, Spezzia, and other Greek islands which were really republics under the protection of the Sultan, and which supplied the Greeks with a ready-made navy when the insurrection broke out. The occupation of the seven Ionian islands, which had belonged to Venice, by the forces of France, England and Russia successively, during the Napoleonic wars, brought the Greeks into contact with the civilized nations of Europe, and gave them ideas of liberty and of patriotism. Secret societies were formed among the Greeks abroad for the purpose of securing the liberation of their country from the Turkish and Musalman bondage. Of these the most widely-spread and most successful was the Philike Hetairia, which had its head-quarters in Russia, and its secret agents spread through all Greece. The suspicions of the Turks were allayed by playing upon their ignorance, and they were informed that "Eleutheria" (Liberty) was only another epithet of the Virgin Mary. As the Turk despised the Greek for his cowardice and effeminacy, so the Greek had an equal contempt for the stupidity and dulness of Turkish wits.

The growing hostility between Musalmans and Christians had reached a climax in Greece in the year 1820. The Greeks under Consular protection were as insolent to the Turks as they could be ; while the mutinous Janissaries in the garrisons showed their defiance of the Sultan and his reforms by committing outrages on the Christians, which went unchecked and unpunished, because there was no authority strong enough to do either. Stephen Grellet, the quaker who visited Greece that year, has recorded in his journal the grievous oppression of the people by these armed ruffians. "They fire at a wayfarer on the road," he writes, "merely to try their skill in hitting a mark ; or sometimes they cut down a passer by in the street only to test the edge and temper of their blades ; and no notice is taken of it."

Odysseus, the Albanian chief, has given the following account of the causes of the Greek Revolution, in a passage of his letter to Muhammad Páshá : "It was the injustice of the Vazirs, Páshás, Kázis and Bulukbáshis, each of whom closed the book of Muhammad, and opened a book of his own. Any virgin that pleased them, they took by force ; any merchant in Negropont that was making money, they beheaded, and seized his goods ; any proprietor of a good estate, they slew, and occupied his property ; and every drunken vagabond in the streets could murder respectable Greeks, and was not punished for it."

The revolt of 'Ali Páshá of Yániná against the authority of the Sultan was the proximate cause of the general insurrection of the Greeks. 'Ali was an Albanian by blood, whose

ancestors had been converted to Islam. His grandfather had been a Páshá and had been slain at the siege of Corfu, in one of the desperate encounters between the besiegers and the garrison under the gallant Count Schulemberg. 'Ali pushed his fortunes by his address and energy ; and after he was promoted to the Páshálik of Yániná, made himself virtually independent, and absorbed all the neighbouring districts into his own. In character he much resembled Hyder Ali of Mysore and Muhammad Ali of Egypt ; a despot without fear, faith, or compunction. He kept a large army of Arnaúts in his pay, Christians as well as Musalmans. These Arnaúts were at that time the best troops in the Turkish service. They were so popular that the Turks in Greece commonly dressed up their children in the Albanian dress of jacket, and kilt ; and this dress became also the military dress of the Greeks in their War of Independence, though it was not before that time their national dress.

'Ali Páshá obtained a European reputation through his connection with the great powers who quarrelled over the Ionian islands, the spoils of fallen Venice, and through the vigour and astuteness of his policy. He took Prevesa by storm from the French, and, after a ten years' war, succeeded in expelling the Christian mountaineers of Suli from the barren hills which they had held against all the efforts of the Turks for more than one hundred years. He was more than eighty years old when his intrigues and his insolence provoked Sultan Mahmúd to declare him a rebel. In 1820 a Turkish army, under the command of his arch-enemy, the Albanian Ismáíl Páshá, marched against Yániná. 'Ali had taken his measures for defence well ; but they were all frustrated by the incapacity of his sons Veli and Mukhtár, and by the treachery of his chief captain, an Albanian, named 'Omar Vrioni. --He went over, with his corps of fifteen thousand men, to the side of the Sultan ; and the old Páshá had to shut himself up with the remnant of his troops within the walls of Yániná.

Here the Turkish army besieged him. In his desperation, 'Ali bethought himself of making the war one of races—of the European Albanians and Greeks against the dominant and Asiatic 'Osmánli. He sent emissaries throughout Greece to excite the people to rise against the Turks. He even engaged his ancient enemies, the Suliots, in his cause, and again delivered up to them the castles which he had built to dominate their mountains. He and Ismail Páshá bid against each other for the services of the Armatoli, or Greek Christian Militia, and thus the Turks put arms into the hands of the Christians to be turned against themselves.

The plans and hopes of the Philike Hetairia, as is generally the fate of secret political societies, had been revealed to

Sultan Mahmúd by a traitor. In 1820 he sent an officer to the Morea, in order to put all the fortresses there into a state of defence. It does not appear, however, that anything was done. They remained badly garrisoned, armed and provisioned. Probably the Sultan was purposely deceived as to their condition, in the interest of those who were responsible for it. The Sultan appointed the brave old veteran Khúrshid Páshá to be Vazir of the Morea; and he took over the government in November 1820. He had been Vazir of Misr (Egypt) after the expulsion of the French by Abercromby's army; and, as Vazir of Bosnia, he had assisted to re-conquer Servia from the rebel Kara George in 1813. He now reported that there was no danger of disturbance in his Páshálik: and the Sultan, finding that the siege of Yániná made no progress, ordered Khúrshid to relieve Ismail Páshá in the command of the army before that place. Accordingly Khúrshid left his Kiáyá (Ketkhudá) Muhammad Salik, a vain, rash young man, as his deputy at Tripolizza.

The conspiracy among the Greeks had already been fully organized in the Morea, and about £2,000 had been raised towards the funds for waging war against the Turks, by private subscriptions. Arms and ammunition were being smuggled into the country, and the Turks discovered that several innocent looking flour-mills, which had excited attention by their unusual activity, were employed in making gunpowder. Still the Turks remained as unsuspicious and careless of danger as the English in India on the eve of the Sepoy Mutiny.

The insurrection was actually commenced on the 6th of March, 1821, by the invasion of Roumania by a band of Greek filibusters under the command of Alexander Ypsilanti, the President of the Hetairia. The few Turks who were in the country were cruelly murdered, and Ypsilanti played at royalty for a few weeks in Jassy and Bucharest. But the Roumans held aloof; and the Sultan hurried Turkish troops into the country. In a couple of engagements the insurgent Greeks were cut to pieces; Ypsilanti fled into Hungary, and was there imprisoned by the Austrians; and the ill-directed and unlucky enterprise was quite crushed by the end of June. It had, however, given the signal for the lighting of the beacon of insurrection in Greece. "It would require Shakespeare's richness of language," says Finlay, "to give adequate expression to the intensity of passion with which the modern Greeks rose to destroy the power of their Othoman masters."

In the month of February, 1821, a meeting of the chiefs of the Hetairia, including many Bishops and Priests, was held at Vostitza in the Morea. It had been already settled that a simultaneous insurrection was to take place on the 6th of

April. The Páshá's Kaimmakám (deputy) at Tripolizza now summoned the Bishops and other leading men of the Greeks to a Conference at Tripolizza, telling them that he wished to concert measures with them for counteracting the intrigues which agents of 'Ali Páshá were carrying on among the people: but his real intention was to seize them as hostages.

Divining his plan, or alarmed by a guilty conscience, most of them sent excuses: very few obeyed the summons; but, on the contrary, fearing to be arrested by the Turks, they began to collect armed men for their own protection. The Kaimmakám, who was becoming very anxious, sent off three Turks with letters to Khúrshid Páshá, begging him to send some troops into the Morea without delay: these messengers were waylaid and killed by the conspirators on the 25th of March. Next day, eight Arnaút soldiers, who were out collecting the Kharáj, were attacked and slain. The day after, sixty Arnaúts, on the march to Tripolizza, were attacked, twenty of them killed, and the rest disarmed and plundered. At the same time Sa'id Aghá of Lalla, who was escorting treasure to Tripolizza, was attacked upon the road. He beat off the Klephts who assailed him, and carried his treasure safe into the town, where he reported that the Greeks had taken up arms. The Musalmans rose in tumult, and would have killed the Bishops who had already arrived, but the Kaimmakám saved them by taking them under his own charge.

"On the 2nd of April the outbreak became general over the whole of the Morea. On that day many Turks were murdered in different places, and all communication by the great roads was cut off."

The Mainotes were up in arms, and their Christian Bey, who was appointed by the Sultan, became one of the chief leaders of the insurrection. The Turkish Voivodá of Kalamáta observed that long trains of pack horses and mules were bringing heavy loads from the sea coast of Maina to the Greek villagers round Kalamáta. The loads contained ammunition. He called the Turkish residents together, and warned them to escape to Tripolizza while there was yet time.

A Musalman named Murád, who was a general favourite with the Christians, was the first to set out with his family. He was stopped and murdered by Greeks on the road, and his wife and children fled back into Kalamáta. Next day the Mainotes came down from the hills and two thousand Christians blockaded Kalamáta. The Turks capitulated, on condition of their lives being spared, and they were made prisoners, but eventually they were all murdered.

"On the 5th April, 1821, the first solemn service of the Greek Church was performed as a thanksgiving for the success of the

Greek arms. The ceremony was on the banks of the torrent that flows by Kalamáta. Twenty-four priests officiated, and five thousand armed men stood around. Never was *Te Deum* celebrated with greater fervour; never did hearts overflow with sincerer devotion to Heaven, nor with warmer gratitude to their Church and their God. Patriotic tears poured down the cheeks of rude warriors, and ruthless brigands sobbed like children. All present felt that the event formed an era in Greek History; and when Modern Greece produces historians, artists, and poets, this scene will doubtless find a niche in the temple of fame."

Throughout all the country the Christians now attacked and murdered the Musalmans, killing man, woman, and child, burning their houses, and plundering, or wantonly destroying their property. It is computed that, within three weeks from the first rising, from ten to fifteen thousand Moslems were murdered, and three thousand Turkish farms and dwellings laid waste and burned.

All the Turks who escaped, took refuge in the fortified towns of Tripolizza, Nauplia, Malvasia, Modon, Coron, Navarin, and Patras. The Greeks gained the latter town, and Yusuf Páshá and the Turks shut themselves up in the citadel. The place must have been taken but for the timely arrival of the Arnaúts from Lalla. These had defended their homes against the Christians for three days, but at last, overcome by numbers, they had to abandon Lalla, and they managed to retreat to Patras, where their arrival saved the citadel, which held out during the whole war. The Arnaút Colony of Bardhunias, near Maina, made off in a body to Tripolizza, accompanied by the Turks of Misitra: and most of them arrived there safely, but many women and children who were unable to keep up, were killed by the Greeks.

The insurrection spread like wildfire through the isles of the Archipelago and through Continental Greece: everywhere the Musalmans were massacred, or shut up in the fortresses. The Turks held out in the Acropolis of Athens, in Negropont and Karystos in Eubœa. The revolt spread northwards into Macedonia, and the Turkish troops were shut up in Salonica. Three hundred armed Greek vessels put to sea from the islands of Hydra and Spezzia, and plundered and murdered Turks on the coasts of Asia Minor.

It is easy to imagine the excitement and fury of the Turks when the news of these events reached Constantinople. The rabble attacked and murdered all Greeks indiscriminately; the Greek Patriarch was hung at his own door in his pontifical robes; many Bishops and leading Greeks shared his fate; and massacres of Christians were perpetrated in almost every town in Asia Minor.

Khúrshid Páshá was placed in a great dilemma by the news of the rising in the Morea. He immediately sent off ten thousand men from his army before Yániná, half of them to Thessaly, and half into the Morea. He himself pressed on the siege of 'Ali's stronghold. Finlay warmly praises his resolution : "His own honour and the safety of his family, called on him to march to Tripolizza, protect his harem, and save the Muhammadan population of his Páshalik. The fate of the Ottoman Empire probably depended on his decision, and he chose like a patriot. It is the duty of the historian to give the just merit of praise to able and honourable conduct, whether the actor be an enemy or a friend, a Muhammadan or a Christian, a Turk or a Greek."

An Arnaút officer was deputed by 'Ali Páshá to open up communications with the Greek insurgents ; but when he saw the ruined mosques and blackened walls of Turkish houses in the villages through which he passed, and the bleaching bones of unburied Musalmans, he realised that there was no hope of reconciliation, and returned to tell his Moslem comrades at Yániná that the Greek revolution was "the mortal combat of two religions." From that day 'Ali Páshá's fate was sealed. But it was not till January, 1822, that treachery admitted Khúrshid's troops into the fortress. The old fox retired with his treasures into a tower over the powder magazine, and gained terms from Khúrshid by the threat of destroying himself, with all it contained, if favourable conditions were not granted to him. The terms were granted to him, and, as soon as he had surrendered, he was treacherously murdered, and his head sent to the Sultan. His marble tomb may still be seen at Yániná, with its pompous inscription, recording Turkish treachery and inculcating piety in the same breath.

But before Khúrshid's army was set free by the fall of Yániná, the Morea and Greece were lost. The Turkish fortresses were not provisioned or munitioned for a siege, and the crowds of fugitives that had flocked into them soon exhausted their resources. Malvasia was the first to fall. It was compelled by hunger to capitulate on the 5th of August. The Turks were allowed to retain their personal effects, but surrendered their arms, and paid for the hire of three Greek vessels to convey them to the coast of Asia. But the Greek soldiers robbed and murdered some of the Turks in spite of the capitulation.

At Navarin there was worse treachery. The starving Turks capitulated on the 19th of August, agreeing to give up all their money and jewels, as well as their arms. The Greeks engaged to transport them to Africa. When the Turks were embarking, the Greeks began to search the persons of their women for

concealed jewellery. The Turks resented this, naturally enough ; high words ended in blows, and the Greeks fell upon the unarmed Turks with swords and daggers. A horrid massacre followed. The Christians shot down the Musalman women who had plunged into the water to save themselves, and dashed out the brains of infants against the rocks. Every Turk perished, and their bodies were left unburied to rot upon the shore, till some of the Greek leaders had them burned to avert a pestilence.

Corinth also capitulated, through famine. The Arnaúts in the garrison concluded a separate convention with the Greeks, and most of them got away safely, though some were robbed and murdered by the Greek soldiery. The Turks were promised their lives and liberty, and were then all murdered. Kámil Beg, their commander, was most cruelly tortured by the Greeks, to make him reveal the hiding-place of treasure which they supposed him to have concealed. Whether he had, or not, he died without revealing anything : probably there was nothing to reveal.

Most of the refugees had escaped into Tripolizza, and the armed bands of insurgents had soon begun to gather round the doomed town. On the 11th of April, five hundred Turkish horsemen sallied out of Tripolizza and completely routed and dispersed six thousand insurgents. The Greeks fled in the greatest panic, throwing away their arms. They were untrained peasants, while the Turkish horsemen were still formidable, from their skill in arms and horsemanship ; for they had not yet been ruined by Sultan Mahmúd's well-meant but ill-judged reforms. This was the last exploit of the Turkish feudal horsemen of the Morea. The Greeks gathered around Tripolizza in increasing numbers ; and, taught by experience, they selected positions unfavourable to the action of cavalry. Ahmad Beg arrived with eight hundred cavalry and fifteen hundred infantry from Khúrshid Páshá's army ; he forced his way through the Greeks, who did not dare to intercept him ; but he found Tripolizza so straitened for supplies that, unless the blockade was broken, the place would soon be untenable. He accordingly marched out and attacked the Greek post at Vattetzi. But the Greeks were entrenched here on rocky hills, which the Turkish cavalry could not surmount, and the Arnaút infantry were driven back by the steady fire of their marksmen. Four hundred Musalmans and one hundred-and-fifty Christians were killed. This was the first victory which the Greeks had gained : they were immensely elated, while the spirit of the Turks was quite broken.

The blockade dragged on for some months longer. The Turks opened communications with the Greek leaders : they

were slowly starving, and capitulation was merely a question of time. Ahmad Beg proposed to cut a way through the blockading force, and to escape to Nauplia; but most of the Morea Turks had their families with them, and they would not consent to risk losing them, or to leave them behind. The Beg, therefore, opened negotiations with the Greek chiefs, most of whom were brigands by profession. These men wanted to get the wealth of the Turks into their own hands; they made private bargains with them for ransom, and sold provisions at exorbitant prices to their starving enemies. The Greek soldiers were enraged at the conduct of their chiefs, and, while the negotiations were going on, some of them contrived to scale the walls at an unguarded place, and threw open a gate to their comrades. The whole Greek rabble army rushed in, and, in the words of the historian, "a scene of fighting, murder and pillage then commenced, unexampled in duration and atrocity even in the annals of this bloody warfare." In the confusion Ahmad Beg, with a handful of desperate Turks, cut his way through the enemy, and escaped to Nauplia without being pursued. The Arnaúts under Almás Beg, fifteen hundred strong, remained formed up in the courtyard of the Páshá's palace under arms; and the Greek chiefs, afraid to attack them, were glad to allow them to depart free and uninjured. They marched out, and took up their quarters near the Greek camp, where they were supplied with provisions, until they set out on their homeward march. All the rest of the Musalmans in Tripolizza were murdered, and many of them tortured by the conquerors. In about forty-eight hours the sack was over, and about two thousand Musalman women and children were still found alive.

The Greeks collected these together, and, marching them out of the city, deliberately murdered every soul of them in cold blood. But the avarice of the Greeks was even greater than their cruelty, and the women of Khúrshid Páshá's harem were spared, in the expectation of a high ransom.

Nauplia, Modon, Coron and Patras were now the only towns left in the hands of the Turks in the Morea. They were greatly straitened for provisions, but in August, Kará 'Ali, the Kapitán Beg, with a squadron of Turkish men-of-war, effected a junction with an Algerine and an Egyptian squadron in the Levant, and visited and re-victualled Modon, Coron and Patras. Ismail Gibraltar with the Egyptians and Algerines sacked the town of Galaxidhi, and carried off thirty-four Greek merchant vessels which he found in the port. But the Kapitán Beg, hearing that the Greek fleet was looking for him, quitted the coast in a hurry: for the Turks were mortally afraid of the fire-ships, with which the Greeks generally attacked them:

the small Greek craft could not tackle the Turk's line of battle-ships and frigates: but the latter sailed and manœuvred so clumsily that they fell an easy prey to fire-ships, which the Greeks were clever in constructing and working.

During this cruise an Algerine brig was separated from her consorts and fell in with a Greek fleet of eighteen sail. The Greeks surrounded her, but she made a gallant resistance, and the Greeks were afraid to board; as the Algerines saw no hope of escape, they ran their ship ashore on the island of Zante. At that time the Ionian islands were occupied by Great Britain. The Greeks of Zante assembled in crowds and attacked the Turks: a guard of English soldiers was sent to maintain order, and they of course protected the Algerines from injury: the angry Greeks then attacked the soldiers and killed one of them: the soldiers fired and killed two Greeks: and five of the rabble were afterwards tried and hung for killing the soldier. The Greeks and their Russian sympathisers made this incident a pretext for calumniating the English nation as the upholder and fomentor of Turkish tyranny.

Meanwhile the Turkish forces were being gathered to crush the insurrection. The insurgent Greeks of Macedonia took refuge in the peninsula of Cassandra, and fortified the Isthmus. Abul Abad, the Páshá of Salonica, could not assemble a sufficient force to attack them till November; then he stormed and carried their lines, and entirely crushed the insurrection in that quarter. All the men taken in arms were massacred, and four thousand women and children were sold as slaves by the Turkish soldiers. From policy, Abul Abad granted an amnesty to all Greeks who laid down their arms; but he inflicted justice, as he called it, by torturing the rebel leaders and their innocent wives with the most horrid cruelty. Turks and Greeks seemed to vie with each other in the perpetration of the most fiendish acts of barbarity and inhumanity. "The cruelties perpetrated by Abul Abad," says the historian Finlay, "were so horrid, as to make the description sickening."

The revolt was quelled in Macedonia; but Greece was lost, and had now to be recovered. Sultan Mahmúd's plan for the campaign that was to recover it was well laid. Two armies were to advance into Greece, one from Albania, and one from Thessaly. 'Omar Vrioni, who had received, as the reward of his treachery to his master, 'Ali, the Páshalik of Yániná, was to lead an Arnaút army to subdue Western Greece, then to cross the gulf to Patras and march through the Morea to Tripolizza; Muhammad Dramali, Páshá of Thessaly, was to march into Eastern Greece, and into the Morea by the Isthmus of Corinth, and, after relieving Nauplia, to join 'Omar Vrioni at Tripolizza: the two Páshás were then to establish communications with

Nauplia, Patras, Modon and Coron, and so gradually hem the insurgents in between the lines of Ottoman troops. Khúrshid Páshá was named Saraskier with the general direction of the operations.

The Turkish fleet was to co-operate with the land army in the relief of Nauplia, and to carry ample stores to re-victual the fortress. The Kapitán Beg, Kará 'Ali, now promoted to Kapitán Páshá, had commenced the operations of the year, 1822, by re-conquering the isle of Chios, or Scio; but unfortunately the barbarities committed here by the Turks roused the whole public opinion of Europe against them, just as the Bulgarian atrocities did, fifty years later, and excited the sympathy of the whole civilised world for their victims.

Kará 'Ali's flagship was set on fire by the Greek hero, Constantine Kanaris, while the Kapitán Páshá was feasting to celebrate his triumph and the Kurban' Id at the same time, and Kará 'Ali, hurrying from the conflagration, was crushed to death by the fall of the blazing mast. The Sultan appointed Muhammad Kapitán Páshá in his stead. He was then at Patras, and the fleet proceeded there to pick him up, instead of going at once to Nauplia, where the garrison was starving. This senseless proceeding ruined whatever chance of success the plan of campaign may have had. In other ways the execution of the plan fell very short of its conception. 'Omar Vrioni wished to reduce the Suliots before marching South, fearing to leave them in his rear; and it was not till September, 1822, that he could compel them to conclude a convention, on terms very favourable to themselves, to evacuate Suli and retire to the Ionian islands. Dramali Páshá was at the head of an army of twenty thousand men in Thessaly. Eight thousand of these were cavalry, mostly Zaims and Timariot Sipáhis, under the command of five Páshás and several Begs. So much time was consumed in collecting transport and providing military stores and provisions, that it was July before the army marched. In June the Turks in the Acropolis of Athens had been starved into surrender. Only one hundred and eighty Turks remained capable of bearing arms, out of eleven hundred and fifty Musalman souls in the place. The usual disgraceful scenes took place after the surrender; but the European Consuls saved many of the Turks; and the bayonets of French marines rescued the lives and honour of Musalmans from the cruelty and lust of their Christian tormentors.

The Greek armies melted away before Dramali's approach. The Greek garrison abandoned Corinth to him, and he took up his head-quarters there on the 17th July, and opened communications with Yusuf Páshá at Patras, who had beaten up the quarters of the Greek host blockading Patras, and had chased

them away. He advised Dramali to form magazines at Corinth, and wait for the co-operation of the fleet, before proceeding to Nauplia. 'Ali Páshá of Argos, who knew the Greeks and the country well, gave the same advice ; but Dramali had heard that the Turks in Nauplia were treating for a surrender, and he was bent on saving them and the town. He was now, if he had known it, in a dangerous situation. The Greeks, who had given way before him, had closed in behind him ; 'Omar Vrioni was still delayed before Suli ; and the fleet had gone round to Patras.

Dramali descended, with his army, into the plain of Argos. The Greeks gave way before him ; it was the best policy they could have pursued ; but they fell back, not from policy, but simply because they could not stand before the Turks. Argos was the seat of the Greek Provisional Government ; but they evacuated the town in a panic. Dramali sent forward 'Ali Páshá, with five hundred cavalry, to Nauplia.

The Turks in Nauplia were on the point of capitulating : they had exchanged hostages with the Greeks and had put the besiegers in possession of the Burj, the little island fort which closes the harbour, as an earnest of their good faith. 'Ali Páshá made his way into the place, assumed command, and broke off the negotiations. He assured the Turks that they would soon be relieved ; and, in fact, the blockade on the land side was raised : but still no provisions came into Nauplia. Dramali found his own army straitened for provisions and forage.

The Greeks hung on the skirts of the Turkish army, continually skirmishing, and the Turks could not water their horses without fighting for it. When their rations ran short, the soldiers lived on the unripe grapes and melons in the fields, and dysentery and fever made ravages in the army. A few hundred Greek volunteers threw themselves into a ruined castle near the Páshá's camp and defended it desperately. The Greek armies began to rally, and they soon outnumbered the Turks. In the beginning of August the fleet had not arrived at Nauplia, and famine, disease, and the incessant and irritating annoyance of the Greek guerillas compelled Dramali to order a retreat to Corinth.

Directly the Turkish army commenced to move, it was assailed in front, flank and rear. The mountain passes between Argos and Corinth were lined by marksmen. The Turkish horsemen tried to force their way through with desperate valour, but the corpses of their steeds, struck down by the Greek fire, blocked the narrow ways. After two days of carnage and confusion, Dramali, with the main body of his cavalry, arrived in Corinth, having left his military chest, the

whole baggage of his army, and the corpses of most of his infantry on the road. Had the Greeks acted in concert, and been skilfully commanded, not a single Turk would have escaped. The Morea was again delivered from the enemy, and the blockade of Nauplia was resumed.

It was not till September that the Ottoman fleet arrived off Nauplia. The Greek fleet was there to oppose it, but their ships were much inferior in size and weight of metal to those of the Turks. But the new Kapitán Páshá was both fool and coward. His only object appeared to be to avoid an engagement, and, when he thought that he could no longer do so, he sailed away, and abandoned Nauplia to its fate.

The Turks in Nauplia were dying of hunger. The soldiers who came down from the Palamide hill to draw their rations in the town, were so weak that they could not climb up again. No one could carry up provisions, and the place was abandoned and occupied by the Greeks. The Turks capitulated on terms. They were to retain only the clothes they wore, a quilt for bedding, and their prayer-carpets. 'Ali Páshá and Salim Páshá refused to sign any capitulation, or to be a party to the surrender which they could not avoid, so they were retained as prisoners by the Greeks. The rest of the Turks were to be transported to Asia. No doubt, they would have been all massacred like their brethren in Navarin and Corinth, only luckily an English man-of-war arrived in Nauplia harbour just in the nick of time. Captain Hamilton protected the Turks, took five hundred on board his own vessel, and saw the remaining nine hundred safely embarked on the Greek transports. Most of the Greeks were very angry at his interference, but he told them plainly that their treachery and cruelty were making their name hateful in Europe, and would ruin the cause of Greece.

In Western Greece the patriots had collected their forces and marched to the help of the Suliots; but Reshid Páshá of Arta, called Kiutáhi, met them at Petta, and completely routed them. 'Omar Vrioni, as soon as he had finished with the Suliots, joined Reshid, and the two marched through Western Greece, but were stopped by the walls of Missolonghi. 'Omar Vrioni protracted the siege into the winter, and, after being repulsed in a general assault, raised it and retired to Yániná. Dramali died at Corinth, of an epidemic fever, and the remnant of his army retired into Thessaly, so that, at the close of 1822, Greece was once more free of the Turk. Khúrshid Páshá also died in Thessaly; some say, poisoned by his own hand, in despair at the disastrous result of the campaign; others say, strangled by order of the Sultan, who attributed its failure to his mismanagement.

Sultan Mahmúd was not disheartened, though deeply disappointed, at the unfortunate miscarriage of the campaign. He set about busily preparing for a new one. Mustafá Páshá of Iskúdera (Scutari), in Albania, and 'Omar Vrioni Páshá of Yániná, both of them Arnaút chiefs, were ordered to march through Western Greece and cross the gulf of Lepanto into the Morea : and Rashid Páshá Kiutáhi and Yusuf Berkofizali were to lead a Turkish army through Eastern Greece, to co-operate with them. But the preparations for the campaign were paralysed by a great disaster. Early in 1823, the arsenal at Constantinople was destroyed in a tremendous conflagration. All the immense train of artillery, stores of arms and ammunition, and equipments of all kinds, which had been collected, both for the fleet and army, were entirely destroyed, along with fifty mosques and six thousand houses in the adjacent quarter of the town. Some suppose the fire to have been the work of Greek agents : but the general opinion attributed it to the Janissaries, whose allies and comrades, the Jebezis, had charge of the arsenal and magazines. Fifteen ortas, or regiments, of Janissaries were under orders to join the army for the campaign : there was an intense, though smothered, hostility between them and the Sultan ; they observed that none of their comrades who had accompanied the expedition of Dramali, had returned, and suspected that they had been purposely sacrificed, and that they themselves were destined to the same fate.

The destruction of their ammunition and equipments prevented their departure for the war. The original plan of the campaign was, however, adhered to as far as possible. Rashid Páshá stamped out the remains of the insurrection in Thessaly, while Yusuf Berkofizali, at the head of a large body of cavalry, raided Bæotia and Attica. The two Arnaút Páshás marched through Western Greece, and the Greeks did not venture to oppose them in the field. But they wrangled with each other. They were equal in rank, and neither would carry out the orders, or follow up the plans, of the other. When they found their further advance stopped by the defences of Missolonghi, they made a feeble attempt at surmounting them, and then retreated to their own Páshálik. Mustafá Páshá buried his siege artillery, put up head-stones, and surrounded the place with a wall. The pursuing Greeks thought it was a Turkish cemetery, boasted of the number of Begs and Aghás who had fallen under their fire.

The only noteworthy incident in this campaign was the night surprise, and total rout of the advanced guard of Mustafá Páshá's army by a handful of Suliots : but the victory was barren of results, and was besides dearly purchased by the death of the heroic Mark Bazzaris, the Suliote Captain. This victory

was gained chiefly over Catholic Arnaúts of the tribe of Mir-dites, who were serving with the Musalmans in Mustafá Páshá's army.

Mustafá Páshá, of Iskudara, was himself a Janissary, and an obstinate opponent of the Sultan's reforms. It was believed that he had purposely caused the failure of the campaign.

The Turkish fleet had been ordered to co-operate with him : it threw supplies into Modon and Coron, and then sailed into Patras : but, when it arrived before Missolonghi, the Páshás had already commenced their retreat. The Greek fleet cruised to intercept the Turkish fleet. It fell in with a Turkish brig, separated from the rest of the fleet. Five Greek vessels surrounded her, and raked her with their broadsides till she was disabled ; but they did not venture to board her, and she was able to reach Ithaca, where the Turks ran her ashore, hoping to find protection under the English flag. The islanders assembled to assist the Greeks, and they attacked and killed many of the Turks and plundered the vessel before the English could arrive to interfere. Between the decks of the brig forty dead bodies of Turks killed during the action were found piled up, their comrades having kept them in order that they might have Musalman rites of burial ashore. The English saved the lives of thirty-five Turks, every one of whom was severely wounded. They were treated by English surgeons, and, when cured, were sent back to their own country. The Turks, who still held the citadel of Corinth after Dramali's death, surrendered it at the end of the year. The Greek captains allowed them to depart free and uninjured, though they could not prevent four or five of them from being murdered by the rabble Greek soldiery.

In the next year, 1824, the war was almost entirely carried on by naval operations, and it was waged principally in Crete and in the islands. The Sultan perceived that, to conquer Greece, it was necessary to gain command of the sea ; and he engaged Muhammad 'Ali, Páshá of Egypt, to assist him with all his land and sea forces, which included an army of Nizám troops, Egyptian Arabs disciplined and drilled in the European fashion. The inefficient Kapitán Páshá was disgraced, and Khusrau Páshá appointed to the command of the fleet.

Early in the year, the islands of Ipsara and Kasos, which furnished a great part of the Greek naval forces, were reduced by the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleets ; a succession of naval battles were fought in the Archipelago, and an Egyptian army of fifteen thousand regular troops was landed in Crete, to crush the insurrection in that island.

Lord Byron had arrived in Greece, to aid the insurgents, in the end of 1823, and he died at Missolonghi in April, 1824.

Many other English and French volunteers, sympathisers with the Greek cause, joined them about this time : but they could effect little in the state of anarchy which prevailed among the Greeks themselves. Loans of money raised from Philhellenes in England, were embezzled by the patriot leaders ; and the division of the spoils caused quarrels among them, so violent, that, in the course of the year 1824, two successive civil wars broke out among the Greeks in the Morea. Every attempt to introduce an organized government, or a regular military and naval service among them, ended in total failure. The Greek revolution did not bring to the front a single man who combined ability with integrity.

Their best captains, like Odysseus and Kolokotroni, were sordid rascals who looked on war only as a means of filling their own pockets. Their ablest and most honest statesmen, like Mavrocordato and Demetrius Ypsilanti, were totally unversed and ludicrously incompetent in the management of military and naval affairs.

Sultan Mahmúd was amazed and delighted with the success of the Egyptian troops in Crete, and he resolved to employ them for the re-conquest of the Morea ; while Rashid Páshá Kiutahi was appointed Páshá of Yáginá, in the room of 'Omar Vrioni, and charged with the subjugation of Continental Greece. Ibrahim Páshá, son of Muhammad 'Ali Páshá of Egypt, and Commander of the Egyptian fleet and army in Crete, was invested with the dignity of Vazir of the Morea, and entrusted with the task of conquering his new Páshálik. Before the Greek fleet had put to sea, in 1825, he set sail from Crete, and in February he disembarked four thousand regular infantry and five hundred cavalry at Modon, to the great joy of the Turks, who had been shut up in that town for nearly four years. The Egyptian fleet returned to Crete, and fetched the rest of the army, six thousand infantry, five hundred cavalry, and a strong force of field artillery. The blockades of Coron and Modon were at once raised, and the Egyytian Army proceeded to attack Navarin, to secure a commodious harbour for their fleet. On the 21st of March, Ibrahim opened trenches before Navarin, and the siege lasted two months.

The news of the landing of the Egyptian army had not much disturbed the Greek Government at Nauplia, for they thought that they would be able to repel the invasion of Ibrahim as easily as they had done that of Dramali. The Armatoli said that, when they had beaten Turks and Arnáúts, they need not be afraid of Egyptian Falahin. A Greek captain, named Karátassos, soon made an attack on the Egyptian outposts before Navarin. It was signally repulsed, and Karátassos hastened to tell his chiefs that these Egyptian Arabs were more dangerous

enemies than the bravest Turks and Arnaúts he had ever encountered. He was not believed. It was supposed that he praised the Egyptians in order to extenuate his own defeat.

The Greek Government was at this time issuing pay for thirty thousand men, but it could only muster ten thousand to march against Ibrahim. He quitted his camp to meet them, at the head of three thousand Nizam infantry, four hundred cavalry, and four guns. The Greeks entrenched themselves on his approach. Ibrahim Páshá ordered his line to charge with the bayonet. When the Greeks saw the Arabs marching steadily forward, though the fire was rapidly thinning their ranks, their hearts failed them; and when the Arabs broke into double quick time with a cheer, the Greeks broke and fled. The Egyptian cavalry charged, and the vanquished army fled in wild confusion, leaving six hundred men dead upon the field.

Ibráhim Páshá returned, to press on the siege of Navarin. As the island of Sphacteria, celebrated for the wars between the Spartans and Athenians, commanded the entrance to the harbour, it was necessary to gain possession of it: and a regiment of Arab regulars, and the Moreot Turks from Modon and Coron, who volunteered to lead the attack, were landed to capture the Greek batteries on the island. "The Arab bayonet swept all before it." Three hundred and fifty Greeks were killed and two hundred made prisoners. A veteran Greek captain, named Anagnostaras, who was recognised by a Moreot Musalman as having been engaged in the slaughter of the Turks at Tripolizza, was slain to avenge their death.

The garrison of Navarin, having no hope of relief, capitulated, surrendering their arms on condition of being transported to Kalamata in neutral vessels. When they marched out, the Moreot Turks assembled to serve them as they had served the Turkish garrison of Navarin when it capitulated in 1821; but Ibráhim Páshá's Egyptians formed a lane from the gates to the ships, and the unarmed Greeks marched to embarkation between two lines of Arab infantry with fixed bayonets. After Navarin had fallen, the Greek fleet arrived off the coast, and attempted to burn the Egyptian fleet, and they did some little damage, but could not effect much harm.

Ibráhim Páshá, after leaving his fleet in safety in Navarin harbour, marched for Tripolizza.

A warlike Greek priest, named Pappa Phlesas, who had been one of the earliest leaders of the insurrection, attempted to bar his path, at the head of three thousand men: a desperate battle was fought, and the Greeks were completely routed, and left their leader and a thousand men dead on the field; and four hundred of the Arab victors fell. This battle of Maniaki was one of the best contested during the war.

The main army of the Greeks occupied a strong entrenched position, to cover Tripolizza : but Ibráhim Páshá, by a series of skilful manœuvres, turned their position, and they dispersed in confusion, while Ibráhim entered Tripolizza without fighting, to find the town abandoned by the inhabitants. Thence he pushed on against Nauplia, hoping, perhaps, to surprise it, but, after reconnoitring the Greek positions and skirmishing with their outposts, he fell back, and never attempted to enter the town. Some suppose his retreat to have been owing to the accidental presence of two English men-of-war in the harbour. The Greeks tried to molest it, but they could make no impression on the steady Egyptian troops.

The Greek army had meanwhile re-assembled, and was threatening Tripolizza. Ibráhim Páshá moved against them and routed them, killing only two hundred of them, for the Greeks did not give him a chance of getting to close quarters. But, though their army was scattered for a time, it soon re-united ; and the Egyptian Páshá found himself involved in an interminable guerilla warfare. Making Tripolizza his head-quarters, he wasted the country all around from this centre, carrying on a war of extermination. He was interrupted in these operations by an order from the Sultan to join his forces to those of Rashid Páshá, to compel the surrender of the town of Missolonghi.

Rashid Páshá had formed the seige of Missolonghi at the end of April, and for six months he had vigorously pressed the attack, while the garrison and inhabitants made a heroic resistance. The whole energy of the Greek nation seemed to be concentrated on the defence of Missolonghi ; and Rashid confessed himself unable to take the place without assistance. Ibráhim Páshá, therefore, left strong garrisons in the towns he had taken in the Morea, and marched his army to Patras, which was still held by Yusuf Páshá, who had defended it against the Greeks for five years. Thence Ibráhim crossed over with his troops to Lepanto and joined the camp of Rashid Páshá before Missolonghi.

In Eastern Greece, the operations of the Turks and Greeks this year were only desultory. Odysseus, who was the Greek leader in those parts, and one of their best captains, entered into a treacherous agreement with the Turks : but luckily his designs were discovered, and he was arrested by his own officers before any mischief was done. He had been a captain of irregulars in 'Ali Páshá's service. He was a type of the Greek condottieri, a daring and crafty partisan leader : vain, revengeful, false, and cruel. He was murdered by his gaolers in the Acropolis of Athens, and his body was thrown down from the walls, to give colour to their assertion that he perished in an attempt to escape.

The siege of Missolonghi lasted into the month of April, 1826, and then it was only famine that caused the fall of the place. The garrison, taking all the inhabitants with them, made a desperate effort to break through the besieger's lines on the night of the 22nd April. A traitor in the town had warned the Páshás of the design, so that the Turkish and Egyptian troops were all under arms to receive them.

About three thousand Greek fighting men, escorting an equal number of women and children, made the desperate attempt. They charged with such fury that they broke clean through the Turkish army and got clear of the besieger's camp: but, being followed and harassed by cavalry, many of them were cut off and captured, and eventually only fifteen hundred fighting men and a few women and boys made their escape to Salona, the rest being all killed or made prisoners.

Only the sick and infirm had remained in Missolonghi. Next day, the Turks and Egyptians occupied the city without resistance. The Greek invalid soldiers had barricaded themselves in some buildings, which they defended to the last, and finally blew up their powder magazines, many of their assailants perishing in the explosion.

After the capture of Missolonghi, Ibráhim Páshá crossed his army over again into the Morea. During his absence the Greeks had made some abortive attempts against the garrisons which he had left in the country. But his troops had been so diminished by war and disease before the walls of Missolonghi, that he could muster only four thousand foot and six hundred horse at Patras in May, to open the campaign of 1826 in the Morea. The Greeks did not dare to meet him in the field, and he employed the whole summer in laying waste the country and carrying off the crops in order to starve the Greeks into submission. During the following winter, numbers of the Greek peasantry died of starvation, and the population of the Morea was kept alive only by the relief furnished by the Philhellene committees of England, France, and America.

In continental Greece Rashid Páshá marched through Bæotia into Attica and formed the siege of Athens. He stormed the city, but one thousand Greeks held out in the citadel of the Acropolis.

The Greeks made several attempts to raise the siege, but Rashid easily defeated all their armies in the field. Many Greeks still remained in arms in the mountains, and the country occupied by the Turkish armies, though subdued, was by no means pacified.

At the commencement of the year, 1827, the resources of the combatants on both sides were all but exhausted.

The Greeks had wasted the money of two English loans, and and were dependent on charity for further means of carrying

on the war. The Sultan had debased the coinage till it would bear no further alloy. Under this system, his own subjects bore the loss ; at the present day the victims of the experiments of Turkish finance are mostly the subjects of Queen Victoria.

In 1826, the long impending conflict between the Sultan and the Janissaries had broken out, and the Sultan had come victorious out of the struggle : "that detestable military corps" was dissolved by an Imperial Firman, its members were massacred or exiled : and Sultan Mahmúd ordered the formation of a regular army on the European model, to be called the "Askar-i-Jadid-i-Mansuria," or New Victorious Army. But armies are not made in a month ; and, before the new army was ready to take the field against the insurgent Greeks, a more formidable enemy had appeared on the scene.

The policy of the Holy Alliance, which was directed against all and every revolutionary movement, had at first prevented the Czar Alexander from favouring the cause of the Greeks. But he died in 1825, and his brother and successor, Nicholas, at once commenced to conciliate the sympathies of his orthodox subjects by putting pressure upon the Turks to make them come to some kind of composition with their revolted subjects. Mutual jealousy urged the Cabinets of England and France to join Russia in diplomatic interference, and, to back the Notes and Protocols, a combined fleet was sent into the Mediterranean, and cruised off the coast of the Morea.

Meanwhile, the Greeks, finding their financial, military, and naval affairs drifting more and more into hopeless anarchy and ruin, called in the aid of their foreign sympathisers, and made Count Capo d'Istrias, a Russian diplomatist of Greek nationality, President of their Republic ; Lord Cochrane, a British naval officer, High Admiral of their fleet ; and Sir Richard Church, an English Lieutenant-General in the Neapolitan Army, their "Archistrategos," or Military Commander-in-Chief.

Sir Richard Church was one of the last of the soldiers of fortune who furnished many of the best commanders and officers of the armies of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Born of an Irish Quaker family, his passion for soldiering compelled his parents to violate their principles and procure him a commission in the British Army. He served in General Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to expel the French from Egypt, and there first conceived a violent hatred and contempt for the Turks. It is curious to find his letters describing the Turks as arrant cowards, but the untrained and undisciplined riff-raff and rabble which thereafter filled the Turkish armies, frequently merited the appellation. Whenever they were properly commanded and led, they showed the good stuff they were made of. Sir Richard Church's

own countrymen had the universal reputation of cowards in Europe till they were taken in hand and trained by French and English officers. Church afterwards saw much service on the Mediterranean coasts during the Napoleonic wars, commanded at one time a battalion of Corsicans, at another a regiment of Greek Light Infantry raised for the British service in Cephalonia. He had the Irish faculty of commanding the affection, as well as the respect, of alien and semi-barbarous races, which the Teutonic character so often fails to inspire. He afterwards served as a Commissioner with the Allied Armies in 1813, and this appointment led to his accepting service under the Neapolitan Bourbon King, in whose army he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-General. He was an ardent Philhellene, and had hitherto enjoyed a successful and distinguished military career, and had proved his capacity and courage. He now took command of the military forces of the Revolution. To transform a rabble of armed men into a regular army, without the aid of a corps of trained officers, and without funds, proved, however, a task beyond his power.

Many of the leaders of the Greek soldiery had served an apprenticeship under Church, as officers and soldiers in the Greek Light Infantry; but they appear to have profited little by their experience.

The first joint enterprise of Church and Cochrane was to attempt the relief of the Acropolis of Athens. The former collected ten thousand men in the Morea, who were transported in the vessels of the latter to Attica.

But the expedition turned out a complete failure. Everything depended on the combination of the fleet and army; but Church and Cochrane often held different views, and there was no superior authority to decide between them. The Piræus was brilliantly stormed, and the Turkish troops were driven out: but three hundred Musalman Arnaúts threw themselves into the Monastery of St. Spiridion, where they held out gallantly, though the walls were battered about their ears by the fire of the Greek frigates. Church granted them an honourable capitulation, and they were marching out, when the Greek soldiery fell upon them and murdered them all. An English officer, named Gordon, who commanded the Greek artillery, was so disgusted at this abominable treachery, that he threw up his command and quitted the army. Rashid Páshá, on being informed of the massacre, exclaimed: "God will not leave this faithlessness unpunished. He will pardon the murdered, and will inflict some signal punishment on the murderers."

A few days afterwards, Kasaiskaki, one of the bravest and most active of the Greek leaders, was killed in an affair of

outposts: he was Church's right-hand man, and, after his death, the army became a mere mob of armed men. Church led this mob forward upon Athens, or rather sent it forward, for he was far to the rear when the battle was fought. Rashid Páshá, as soon as he heard of the advance of the Greeks, quit-
ted his camp at Athens to meet them, and furiously attacked them. Two charges of the Turkish horse were repulsed, but the third broke the Greek ranks, and the whole army fled back in disorder to the sea-shore, where the pursuit of the Turks was checked by the fire of the ships. Fifteen hundred Greeks fell in the battle and pursuit, and six guns were taken by the victors. Rashid Páshá led the cavalry charges in person, and was wounded in the hand; while Sir Richard Church never even reached the field of battle. This was the most disastrous defeat sustained by the Greeks during the whole war. Two hundred and fifty Greeks were made prisoners, and were at once beheaded by Rashid Páshá, to avenge the death of the Musal-
mans slain at St. Spiridion. Three thousand Greeks deserted from Church's army after the defeat; and he had to carry the remnant of his forces back into the Morea. The garrison of the Acropolis, hopeless of relief, capitulated shortly afterwards; and Rashid Páshá honourably observed the terms of capitu-
lation. No strong place now remained in the hands of the Christians in the whole of Continental Greece.

The great European Powers had meanwhile proposed an armistice between the belligerents; but both the Sultan and Muhammad 'Ali Páshá strongly opposed it, while the Greeks, who were getting worsted, were in favour of it. However, when the Allied fleets appeared off Navarin, Ibráhim Páshá thought it would be prudent to agree to their proposal for an armistice on the sea. There was another English naval adventurer in the Greek service, Captain Frank Abney Hastings, who did great mischief to the Turks with a steamship which he commanded, and which was probably the first steamer ever used in war. With this steamer and a Greek brig and two gun-boats, he attacked an Algerine squadron of nine vessels, at anchor in the port of Salona, and entirely destroyed it.

Ibráhim Páshá, hearing of this violation of the armistice, ordered his whole fleet to weigh from Navarin, to discover and attack Hastings; but the Allied fleets refused to allow the Turkish and Egyptian ships to quit the harbour, alleging that it would be a violation of the armistice, which had been violated already by Hastings and the Greeks. As the historian Finlay observes: "The Greeks accepted the armistice, and were allowed to carry on hostilities both by sea and land: the Turks refused, and were prevented from prosecuting the war by sea." This unfair treatment greatly exasperated the

Turks and Egyptians, and was the principal cause of their coming into hostile collision with the Allied fleets at Navarin.

Through the summer of 1827, Ibráhim Páshá had continued his policy of devastating the Morea, and reducing the whole Greek nation to surrender, from famine. His forces were too reduced in numbers to undertake any offensive operations, and his fleet was practically blockaded by the Allied fleets in the harbour of Navarin. As winter was coming on, and a gale might have blown the fleets from their station and allowed the Egyptians to slip out, the English Admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, ordered the Allied fleets to take shelter in the harbour of Navarin, alongside of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets. Eleven English, seven French, and eight Russian men-of-war entered the harbour on the 20th October, 1827. They mounted altogether twelve hundred guns, while the combined Turkish and Egyptian navies comprised eighty-two vessels of all kinds, mounting two thousand guns.

The Musalmans, no doubt, thought that the Allied fleets were entering the harbour to attack them. They soon opened fire on the leading ships; and, the allies returning it, the engagement became general.

The battle lasted the whole afternoon, and next morning only twenty-nine Turkish ships remained afloat; the remaining fifty-three were sunk or burned.

The battle of Navarin virtually put an end to the war, by giving the Greeks entire command of the sea. The Allied fleets blockaded the Turkish ports of the Morea, and allowed neither provisions nor reinforcements to reach the army of Ibráhim. The devastations which the Egyptians had committed, now recoiled upon themselves, and they began to be greatly straitened for supplies. Ibráhim still desolated the country, cutting down the fig and olive trees, and destroying everything that he could not use. He had four thousand scythes and sickles made for his troops to reap the harvest.

The Arnaúts in garrison at Coron mutinied and set out to march across the Morea, to regain their native Epirus, the Greeks gladly giving them free passage. The Egyptian troops interfered to stop them, and Musalman blood was shed by Musalman hands. Ibráhim Páshá gave orders that the Arnaúts should be allowed to depart without further molestation. When the Allied fleets had gone to Malta and Toulon to refit, he took advantage of their absence to repair the vessels which had survived the disaster of Navarin, and despatched to Egypt his sick and wounded men, and also the families of the Turks in the fortresses, and two thousand Greeks, captive boys and girls, who were sold as slaves in Cairo and Alexandria. He was still determined to maintain

his position in the Morea, hoping for some unforeseen interposition of Heaven on behalf of Islám. In April, 1828, Russia declared war against Turkey, and Rashid Páshá and all his available troops were hastily withdrawn from Greece to meet the Russians on the Danube. Rashid Páshá afterwards became Grand Vazir, and held the chief command against the Russians; and his defeat by them in the battle of Kuluchka, in 1829, terminated the war.

Yusuf Páshá, who had held the fortress of Patras all through the war in the Morea, was promoted to the Páshálik of Magnesia in Asia Minor.

General Sir Richard Church crossed the gulf of Lepanto, with a small force, in the winter of 1827, and occupied the town of Dragomestre in Acarnania. Captain Hastings supported his operations with a flotilla, but he was unfortunately killed in May, 1828, in an attack on the Turkish fort at Anatolikon. Prince Demetrius Ypsilanti took command of the national forces in Eastern Greece; but his progress, as well as that of Sir Richard Church, was extremely slow. Western Greece was not entirely cleared of the Turkish garrisons until May, 1829, when they evacuated Lepanto, Missolonghi, and Anatolikon. The Turks did not entirely abandon Eastern Greece till September in the same year.

None of the Greek commanders were at all anxious to encounter the formidable Ibráhim and the bayonets of his Arabs. They left him in undisputed possession of the best part of the Morea, while they carried on bloodless campaigns in districts where there were no Musalmans in the field to oppose them.

The Greeks were quite unable to expel the remnant of the Egyptian army from their country, and mutual jealousy of England and Russia would not allow either of them to suffer the other to be the instrument of the deliverance of Greece.

As there appeared no chance of their ever coming to an agreement, France undertook to expel the Egyptians from the Morea. On the 19th of July, 1828, a protocol was signed between the Great Powers, regulating the operation: and on the 30th of August following, a French fleet landed an army of fourteen thousand French soldiers, under the command of General Maison, in the Morea.

Ibráhim Páshá saw that resistance to such a force would be useless. He yielded to necessity, and signed a Convention for the evacuation of the country, of which he had been in occupation nearly four years. In the months of September and October the whole of the Egyptian army embarked for Alexandria; but Ibráhim Páshá refused to deliver up the fortresses to General Maison, telling him that they were not

his own to deliver, but belonged to his master the Sultan, and he had no instructions from him to surrender them. He entrusted the keys of Modon, Coron, Navarin and Patras, and the castle of Rhion to the Turks, who had occupied them ever since the outbreak of the insurrection, eight years before, and who had maintained them against the Greeks till his arrival in the country.

After Ibráhim Páshá's departure, General Maison summoned the Turkish fortresses. The Turks refused to deliver them up: but they had neither men nor means to defend them. The French troops planted their ladders against the walls of Coron, Modon, and Navarin, scaled the walls, and entered the towers without opposition, only the castle of Rhion, on the gulf of Corinth, the smallest of the Turkish castles of the Morea, and the last to fall into the hands of the Christians, was obstinate to resist the entry of the Giaur within its gates; and the French were obliged to proceed against it by a regular siege. On the 30th October, 1828, their batteries opened fire on the castle, and the garrison surrendered at discretion.

The Turks were transported, bag and baggage, to Musalman territory, and this time they did not return. Not a Turk now remains in the land where they lorded it for four hundred years. The temporary domination of the Mongolian over an Aryan race, founded on force, has by force been swept away. The nation that was brutalized under the Oriental yoke, till all genius and virtue seemed crushed out of it, is again treading the paths of progress and improvement, and is again taking a worthy place among the nations.

The resurrection of Greece has since been paralleled by that of other nations who shared her miserable fall: Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria.

It is not too much to hope that, at no very distant date, a similar deliverance may be wrought for Christian Armenia; and for Crete, peopled by Greeks, whose frequent insurrections testify to their anxiety for union with the Hellenic nation.

ART. IV.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF INDIAN ANTIQUARIANS.

INTRODUCTION.

FROM the time of Sir William Jones to the beginning of the fourth decade of this century, researches into the antiquities, literature, civil and religious history, arts and science of the East in general were carried on mainly by European scholars. But, as English education began to spread over India and to exercise its enlightening influence upon the Native mind, educated Indians were increasingly attracted to archæological studies. It was on the 7th January, 1829, that, for the first time in the annals of the institution, some Native gentlemen succeeded in getting themselves elected as members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On the Western side of India, the first Native gentleman who sought admission as a member into the ranks of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1833, was defeated, 14 black balls appearing against him at the ballot for his election. On the 29th January, 1840, however, the same Native gentleman was elected a member of the Society. It is true, the names of one or two Natives appear in the *Asiatic Researches* as having contributed papers to that periodical, but it is not till after 1830 in Bengal, and 1840 in Bombay, that Natives can be said to have applied themselves in right earnest to the investigation of the profound mysteries of Oriental learning. By and by there grew up on this side of India a little band of Indian *savants*, which includes the names of Rájendralála Mitrá, Rev. K. M. Banerji, Pratápa Chandra Ghosha, Gaurdás Bysáck, Chandrasekhara Banerji, Pránnáth Saraswati, Ráshbihari Bose, P. N. Bose, Rangalál Banerji, Sarat Chandra Dás and others. In the Western Presidency, a number of similar investigators have arisen, counting among their ranks Báll Gangádhara Shástri, Bháu Dáji, Vishwanáth Náráyan Mandlik, Bhagbánlál Indrají, Rámkrishna Gopál Bhándarkar and Káshinath Trimbak Telang. It is to be regretted that no such investigator is to be found in the Madras Presidency. Though a Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society is said to have existed in the city of Madras from the beginning of the present century, and though the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* is said to be published under its auspices, no Madrassi gentleman has, so far as my knowledge goes, either taken a prominent part in the affairs of the Society, or contributed to the journal.

Curiously enough, all these Indian scholars are Hindus, who have been, of all Indian races, the first to take advantage

of English education and civilisation. The honoured name of Dr. Rájendralála Mitrá stands pre-eminent out of the ranks of the combined Bombay and Bengal bands of Native antiquarians, and he has been very aptly designated the "Prince of Indian Savants." On the Western side of India, Dr. Bháu Dáji is widely known as one who contributed not a little towards clearing up many doubtful points in the history and literature of that part of the country.

I propose to give, in the following pages, biographical sketches of some of the representative Native scholars of Bengal and Bombay.

I shall commence with Bombay, and give, as the first instalment of the series, a succinct account of the main incidents in the life of Dr. Bháu Dáji, and of the researches prosecuted by him.

NO. I.

DR. BHA'U DA'JI, G.G.M.C., HON. M.R.A.S.

HIS CAREER.

Bháu Dáji was born in the village of Manjaran, which is situated on the boundary-line between the two districts of Goa and Sáwantwádi in the Bombay Presidency. Though his parents were persons of humble means, yet, seeing their child display signs of great intelligence from a very early age, they brought him to Bombay and got him admitted as a day-scholar into the Máráthi Central School. Subsequently he joined the English department of the only Government Educational institution which existed in Bombay at that time, namely, the classes held by the Bombay Education Society, in which he distinguished himself by his keen thirst for knowledge, especially for mathematics and physical science.

In this institution he not only reaped the benefits of the teachings, but also enjoyed the friendship of those distinguished pioneers of English education in Western India, Messrs. Orlebar, Harkness, Bell and Henderson. Brought under the direct influence of sympathetic tutors like these, Bháu Dáji made rapid progress in the acquisition of the several branches of knowledge taught in that institution, and was signally successful in winning all the prizes and medals of the school. It was while he was pursuing his scholastic studies here, that he wrote an essay on Infanticide, which had a salutary effect in putting a check to the practice of this unnatural crime among the Jádejás of Káthiawád and Kachh, and ultimately secured for him the prize offered by the Government of Bombay. Subsequently he became a teacher in the Elphinstone Native Institution, and it was while so employed, that he devoted himself to the study of Sanscrit. Having obtained a fair knowledge of Sanscrit and of the rich treasures locked in the literature

of that language, his attention was attracted towards the study of the various archæological remains which lay scattered over the country, and he undertook several excursions, in the company of Sir Erskine Perry, the Chief Justice of Bombay, for the purpose of personally examining these relics.

Curiously enough, like Rájendralála Mitrá, who was a medical student in his early days, Bháu Dáji now entered the Grant Medical College, which was then newly established, and, by his diligence and proficiency, he soon ingratiated himself with Dr. Morehead, the Principal, and the other Professors of the institution. After studying the prescribed course and passing the usual tests, he ultimately graduated from that institution and obtained the proud distinction of being styled a G. G. M. C. (Graduate of the Grant Medical College). Soon afterwards he was appointed by Government a Sub-Assistant Surgeon ; but, after serving in this capacity for a short time, he threw up this post and set up in Bombay as a private medical practitioner. Such was his success in this capacity, that not only did his income exceed anything he could have hoped for, but he became one of the first physicians of the city. His medical advice began to be sought for by all classes of the community, and, to crown all, he distinguished himself, in this time of prosperity, by his assiduous attentions to the poorer classes of the city. With the assistance of his brother, Dr. Náráyan Dáji, he gave medical advice and medicines *gratis* to a large number of poor patients at their dispensary in Bombay. Having a keen thirst for knowledge, he studied carefully the works of the leading ancient Hindu writers on medicine, such as Charaka, Susruta, Barata, &c., and instituted, with a view to testing their efficacy as therapeutical agents, a series of very searching experiments with the indigenous drugs mentioned by them as possessing wonderful remedial properties.

While conducting these enquiries, he found his way to the investigation of that most terrible form of malady to which human flesh is heir, and which has afflicted mankind in India since the time of the sage, A'treya, who flourished about the 13th century before Christ.* He is said to have discovered a remedy for this disease, which he studiously kept secret from the public, because he thought it prudent not to give the world the results of his investigations into the mode of its treatment until he could convince himself, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that it was a sure and certain means of cure. He intended to write a treatise on the pathology and treatment of the disease, and he was gathering the necessary materials, and having the illustrations prepared for such a work

* *Vide* "Leprosy in Ancient India," by Dr. R. Mitra, in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1875, page 160.

when death overtook him. He was the first representative of the Elphinstone Native Institution who was appointed a member of the late Board of Education, and he remained a member until it was abolished. He was one of the original Fellows whose names are mentioned in the Royal Charter sanctioning the incorporation of the University of Bombay. On the establishment of that corporate body, he was elected a member of two of its Faculties, and, of late years, of its Syndicate. He displayed a very keen interest in educational matters, and, up to the day of his death, took a very prominent part in the proceedings of the University of his native city. He will be well known to future generations, as having been the first Native President of the Student's Literary and Scientific Society of Bombay, and as one of the pioneers of Native female education in the Western Presidency.

In conjunction with the late Juggunath Sunkersett, Esq., he raised a large amount by public subscription for the establishment of a public museum in Bombay. The outcome of this public spirit on their part is that handsome structure situated in the Victoria Gardens, Byculla, known as the Victoria and Albert Museum, with the collections lodged within its walls. He not only distinguished himself as a medical practitioner, but also achieved some sort of distinction as a public speaker, for he often delivered public lectures in the Town Hall of Bombay and other places. He was not only interested in the intellectual and moral advancement of the Indian races, but took a great and lively interest in the political progress of the country. It was mainly through his exertions that the now defunct Bombay Association (at present represented by the newly started Bombay Presidency Association) and the Bombay Branch of the East India Association were established. The Shrievalty of Bombay was twice conferred on him by the Local Government in recognition of his distinguished public services.

Dr. Bháu Dáji took a keen interest in the affairs of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Committee of Management of which he was a member from 1859 to 1864 and a Vice-President from 1865 to 1872, when he was elected an Honorary Vice-President of the Society, on his retirement from the Committee. He greatly advanced the objects for which the Society was founded, by frequently contributing articles on archæological, historical and literary subjects connected with the Western Presidency, to its journal. Of these papers, 21 are in the form of finished essays, and the remaining are short reports on coins. Dr. Bháu Dáji had not only to go through a great deal of varied reading for the purpose of drawing up these monographs, but also often to travel to great

distances for the purpose either of collecting MSS. or of personally examining the subject-matter of papers which could not be removed. Whenever he himself could not go to such places, he enlisted the services of paid agents whom he sent there to look out for inscriptions and rare Sanscrit MSS., of which he was an enthusiastic collector, and to get them transcribed. To mention one particular instance, he had in his employ a Gujarát Bráhmaṇ, named Pandit Bhagwánlál Indraji, who had mastered the ancient Indian alphabets in which the cave-inscriptions were written, for the purpose of making copies of them, and for these services he had to pay him handsomely. Such was Dr. Bháu's innate love of learning that he did not hesitate to spend money lavishly for purposes which he knew would greatly promote the objects of his favourite pursuits. It is well-known that, at his own expense, he sent Bhagwánlál to such a distant place as Nepal to collect inscriptions and MSS. He was a Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and contributed one paper on "Ancient Indian Numerals" to its Journal, in 1863. He was also an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Journal of which he contributed some valuable notes on A'ryabhata, Varáhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhattopálá and Bháskaráchárya, in 1864-65.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Dr. Bháu Dáji loved learning and science for their own sakes, and cultivated them with all the devotion and diligence of an enthusiast. In order to keep himself *au courant* with the progress of Oriental research prosecuted by foreign savants on the Continent of Europe, he had frequently to procure translations from the German and other languages. So perseveringly and thoroughly did he prosecute his researches, that his labours were often crowned with success in the shape of new discoveries, and his researches in the fields of Indian Archæology and Literature have secured for him an Indian and a European reputation. With reference to these, the eminent Oriental Professor Max Müller says: "The essays of Dr. Bháu Dáji (whom, I regret to say, we have lately lost by death) on disputed points in Indian Archæology and Literature, are most valuable." The well-known Sanscritist of Berlin, Professor Albrecht Weber, has also, in his "History of Indian Literature (edition 1878), page 215, referred to the great services Dr. Bháu rendered to Indian Epigraphy, in these words: "In connection with the so-called cave-inscriptions, the names of Bháu Dáji, Stevenson, E. W. and A. A. West, Westergaard, and J. Wilson, amongst others, may be mentioned."

His name as a scholar and antiquarian was not only familiar in learned circles here and abroad, but was also well known

to the official classes in this country. When Lord Northbrook, during his visit to Bombay, went to see the cave-temples of Ellora, he invited Dr. Bháu Dáji to accompany him, in order to point out to him the remarkable sculptures contained in them, and explain their origin and history.

The key-note of his character was a broad sympathy, which was manifested in his daily life and actions. One of his friends, Mr. W. M. Wood, related that he used often to repeat to himself the aphorism that "the heart of Buddha was filled with infinite pity," and made it the guiding-principle of his life. I will narrate here a few anecdotes illustrating this noble trait in his character.

Mr. Wood says : " Little more than half a year ago (in 1873), and when Dr. Bháu was lying prostrate and powerless, on account of severe illness, news came that an assistant of his, engaged in archæological exploration, had been taken ill with fever on his way to Nepal, and Dr. Bháu Dáji knew very well the dangerous nature of the Terai fever. This man is a Gujarát Bráhmaṇ, Bhagwánlál by name, and well known as one who, under Dr. Bháu's direction, had acquired great skill in the copying and deciphering of ancient inscriptions. Well Dr. Bháu sent a pressing message to me to come and see him on some urgent business which proved to be about this matter. I cannot describe the strong feeling, I might say the love, with which Dr. Bháu spoke of this man, and how keen was the anxiety which he expressed because of this assistant being exposed to mortal danger on his account. The paralyzed doctor said he would do anything he could and rescue him, and he tossed with restlessness in his anxiety to do something. The sick man was at an immense distance off, and of course nothing could be done but to make enquiry by writing to the Resident at Khatmandu. This was done, and in due time, a kind answer was received from Mr. Girdlestone, saying that on search being made, Bhagwán was found lodged at one of the temples with some of his caste-people, and though it was true he had the fever, he was then recovering and had escaped from its worst effects. The Resident at once sent medical assistance to him. These tidings being given to Dr. Bháu Dáji, he was delighted and his mind relieved."

On another occasion, he warmly took up the cause of a poor man who had been wronged by a local official, and exerted himself so energetically on his behalf, that he ultimately obtained redress for his grievances, in the shape of compensation from the highest tribunal of Bombay.

His sympathy for the poor and the needy was not only broad, but of a cosmopolitan character ; for, when the Lancashire Relief Fund was opened in Bombay for the purpose of raising

subscriptions in aid of the distressed work-people, Dr. Bháu Dáji came forward and took an active part in its affairs. His warm advocacy of the cause of Indian Female Education shows that he was a social reformer of an advanced type. He was at the same time a fearless advocate of religious reforms and a candid religious enquirer. It was an open secret that he entertained a partiality for the Christian religion, and, on more than one occasion, he publicly expressed his admiration for the Great Founder of Christianity and the tenets propounded by Him. His love of truth and purity was so great that, on the occasion of the notorious Maharáj case, in 1864, in which the editor of a newspaper was prosecuted in the Bombay Supreme Court for having exposed the immoral tenets and practices of the professed heads of a religious sect called the Vallabhácháryas, he fearlessly gave evidence in favour of the accused and bore out his allegations.

HIS DISCOVERIES.

Dr. Bháu Dáji made several discoveries which are of the greatest importance to Indian history. The first is that of the value of ancient Sanscrit numerals, which long remained unknown, and which even the genius of that celebrated antiquarian, Prinsep, could not find out.

The value of these numerals did not depend on the position of the digits, as it does in the system of numeration now in vogue. According to the current method, the figure 1, standing alone, signifies *unity*; when another numeral is added to the right-hand side of 1, the value of the latter is increased to *ten*; and when one more is added to it, its value is increased to a *hundred*, and so forth. But such was not the case with the Sanscrit numerals found engraved in ancient inscriptions. Their value was constant whatever their position might be, like that of the Roman numerals. In some ancient land-grants on copper, a symbol, with the words "three hundred" engraved close to it, had been observed a long time previously by certain antiquarians, including Prinsep and others, and had been interpreted by them as representing that number in all cases. But, after a time, the coins of some 18 or 20 princes of a certain dynasty were observed to contain this symbol. Assigning the aforesaid value to it, it was calculated that these kings reigned only for one century—which was not, however, the real fact. Antiquarians were now much puzzled to account for this apparent discrepancy in the date of the dynasty. After some time, another learned antiquarian, Mr. Thomas, discovered that the symbol had minute strokes engraved on the right-hand side, and that their form and number varied on the different coins. He suspected that the value of

this symbol was somehow or other affected by these strokes; but he could not discover in what way they affected it. Dr. Bháu Dáji then observed this difficulty, and set about to find some solution for it. The first thing he did was to compare the numbers engraved in the several cave-inscriptions at Násik, Kárlen, Kánheri and Junir, not only with each other, but also with the symbol plus the strokes of the copper-plate grants. After careful reasoning, he came to the conclusion that the symbol, without any of the right-hand strokes, signified *one-hundred*; with one stroke it signified *two-hundred*; with two, *three-hundred*, and with the numerals 4 and 5 below it, *four-hundred*, and *five-hundred*, and so forth. In this way he discovered the values of many other numerical symbols.

This discovery has greatly advanced and consolidated the knowledge of the ancient Indian method of expressing numerical symbols in writing.

His second discovery is that of the Gupta Era. At one time there reigned in Northern India a line of kings who were styled the "Guptas." Inscriptions of several kings of this dynasty had been discovered, and all of them were found to contain dates: one had 93 and another 165 figured on it. But it was not known to what era these dates were to be referred. Different scholars referred them to different eras, but the dates, so calculated, did not tally one with the other. Fortunately for Indian history, the celebrated rock at Junágadh in Kattiawar contains a Gupta inscription, a copy of which had been sent to Prinsep, but left undeciphered by him. It was Dr. Bháu Dáji who deciphered this inscription for the first time, and found in it some clue to the solution of the problem. The inscription, it was found by him, bore three figured dates with the words *Gupta Kálasya* (in the era of the Guptas) engraved after them, and from this fact he came to the conclusion that the Gupta dynasty used its own era. We have it on the authority of an Arabian author on Rock-inscriptions, that this era begins from the year 319 A.D.

His third discovery is that of the names of several scions of a dynasty of kings, called the Sáh, who reigned over that part of Gujarát which was called in ancient times Sauráshtra. Long before Bháu's discovery, Mr. Justice Newton, of the Bombay High Court, had, from the decipherment of Sáh, or Sauráshtrian, coins, ascertained the names of the other members of the dynasty, and embodied the results of his researches in two papers published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.* There are two Sáh inscriptions, one of which

* 1. On the Sáh Gupta and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat, VII, p. 1.

2. On Recent Additions to our Knowledge of the Ancient Dynasties of Western India, IX., p. 1.

is engraved on the aforesaid rock at Junágadh and had been translated by Prinsep previously. From a re-editing of this inscription, Dr. Bháu Dáji came to the conclusion that Rudra Dáma was not the son of Swámi Chashthana, as Prinsep thought, but his grandson. But the portion of this inscription which contained the father's name had been broken off, and hence it could not be determined. Dr. Bháu Dáji, however, by the decipherment of a pillar-inscription from Jusdun, in Kattia-war, rescued from oblivion not only the name of Rudra Dáma's father, but also the names of four or five other scions of this line of kings.

His fourth remarkable research is in connection with the inscriptions carved on the rock-hewn temples in the caves of Ajanta, which he visited several times. By his decipherment of these he greatly improved our knowledge of a new dynasty of kings, named the Andhrabhrityas. He also distinguished himself by his researches into the ancient literature of India, by which he approximately determined the ages of such ancient Hindu writers as Himá-dri, whom he places at about A.D. 1088-1172, Hemachandra, Mádhava, and Sâyana; of the ancient Indian writers on astronomy, *viz.*, A'ryabhata, Varâhamihira, Bramhaguptá Bhattotpálá and Bháskaráchárya; and of Mukunda-râj the oldest Máraáthi author still extant.

HIS DEATH AND POST-MORTUARY HONORS.

Dr. Bháu Dáji died on the 29th of May, 1874. After his death, the public press in India, both European and Native, was unanimous in paying tributes of praise to his high and exemplary character, his ripe scholarship, and his devotion to the promotion of objects of public utility, not only as connected with his own profession as a physician, but as bearing on the antiquities, literature, arts and sciences of this country. On the requisition of the Sheriff, a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was convened in the Town Hall of that city, for the purpose of considering the steps to be taken to perpetuate his memory, and it was then unanimously resolved to raise a suitable memorial to him by subscription. Many other testimonies to his high talents were paid by the Senate of the University of Bombay and by its Vice-Chancellor at the Convocation of that body held for granting degrees. A prize, bearing his name, has been founded in connection with the Bombay University, to be awarded to the candidate who secures the largest number of marks in Sanscrit. In 1882, a collection of Sanscrit manuscripts was presented to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, as a memorial to Dr. Bháu Dáji, by the public meeting held in Bombay to perpetuate his memory.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WRITINGS.

His archæological and literary contributions to the Journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, may be classified under four heads : namely, Epigraphy ; Numismatics ; Language and Literature, and History. His writings under the first and third heads are characterised by great research and scholarship, but those under the second and fourth are only in the form of short notices :—

I.—EPIGRAPHY.

(*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*)

- 1.—On Inscriptions from Ajanta with Lithographs of 27 cave-inscriptions, Vol. VII., page 53.
- 2.—Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of the "Sáh," or Rudra Dâmâ Inscription on a rock at Junâgadh, also of one of Skandagupta, on the northern face of the rock ; with some brief remarks on the Sáh, Gupta, and Valabhi Dynasties, VII., 113.
- 3.—The Ancient Sanscrit Numerals in the Cave-Inscriptions and on the Sáh Coins, correctly made out, with remarks on the Era of Sâlivâhana and Vikramâditya, VIII., 225.
- 4.—Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation, with remarks, of an Inscription on a Stone pillar at Jurdun, in Kattiawar, VIII., 234.
- 5.—Facsimile, Transcript and Translation of an Inscription discovered by Mr. G. W. Terry in the Temple of Amr Nátha, near Kalyana, with remarks, IX., 229.
- 6.—Report on Photographic Copies of Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore, IX., 314.
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- 12.—On ancient Sanscrit Numerals, XXXII. (1863), page 160.

II.—NUMISMATICS.

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- 1.—Report on some Hindu Coins, XII., 213.
- 2.-5.—Reports on Coins, X., p. xiv ; p. xv ; p. xxi ; p. xxiv.

III.—LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

(*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*)

- 1.—On the Sanscrit Poet, Kâlidâsa, and his identity with Mátrigupta of Kashmir, VI., 19 and 207.
- 2.—Merutunga's Therâvalî ; or Genealogical and Succession Tables, by Merutunga, a Jain Pandit, IX., 147.

- 3.—Notes on the Age and Works of Hemadri, IX., 158.
- 4.—Note on Mukunda-Rāja, IX., 166.
- 5.—Brief notes on Hemachandra or Hemáchárya, IX., 222.
- 6.—Brief Notes on Mádhava and Sáyana, IX., 225.
- 7.—Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bána's Harsha Charita, with an Analysis of the more important portions, X., 38.

(Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.)

- 8.—Brief Notes on the Age and Authenticity of the Work of Aryabhata, Varáhamihira, Brahmaguptá, Bhattotpála, and Bháskaráchárya, Vol. I., N. S. (1864 65), p. 392.

IV.—HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.

- 1.—A Brief Survey of Indian Chronology, from the First Century of the Christian Era to the Twelfth, VIII., 236.
- 2.—The Inroads of the Scythians into India, and the Story of Kálakáchárya, IX., 139.

V.—The following Papers were read by Dr. Bháu Dáji, before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and are referred to in the Proceedings, but are not published in the Society's Journals :—

- 1.—Antiquities of Warangal and of Anumkonda, the ancient capital of Telingana, illustrated with photographs, Vol. X., p. xvi.
- 2.—On the Identity of the Balhorá Dynasty of Arab Writers, not with the Valabhi Dynasty, but with the Chálukya Dynasty, IX., p. i.
- 3.—On the Identity of Hyrkodes of Indian Numismatology with Gondophernes, Vol. IX., p. i.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ART. V.—OLD PLACES IN MURSHIDABAD.

I CONFESS to having a sneaking kindness for that curious old volume — *The Bengal Obituary*. Dr. Busteed speaks of its melancholy pages, but to me they are interesting, and I only wish there were more of them.

The book was published by Holmes and Co., the Cossitollah Undertakers, in 1848, and is, in the words of its title-page, "A Record to Perpetuate the Memory of Departed Worth; being a compilation of Tablets and Monumental Inscriptions from various parts of the Bengal and Agra Presidencies." For the Calcutta churches and graveyards it is full and valuable, but unfortunately it is very imperfect as regards Mofussil monuments and inscriptions. The compilers seem to have depended for them on contributions from correspondents, and these were apparently exceedingly superficial. Perhaps a second volume, or a second edition, would have remedied this. In the last sentence of their preface, the compilers express the hope that they may be liberally patronised, as this will encourage them to offer a second volume by way of continuation, "the collection of materials for the same being under course of arrangement." I am afraid this hope was not realised, for no second volume appeared. Probably the publication came at an inopportune time, for 1848 was a period of commercial distress in Calcutta. If the materials, which the compilers speak of, still exist, I hope that their successors will publish them.

It seems to me, however, that the work of collecting the inscriptions of British India is one which might be undertaken by Government. Why should there not be a *Corpus Inscriptionum Indiæ Britannicæ*, giving the epitaphs of the men who lived and died to build up British India? They would be better reading than the bland platitudes of Asoka. Here and there we have such records. Mr. Clay, for instance, has, in the Statistics of the Dacca Division, given us the inscriptions in the Dacca graveyard, and Mr. Eastwick made a praiseworthy attempt, in Murray's hand-book, to collect the most interesting inscriptions in Bengal. I intend, in the present article, to mention those in the district of Murshidabad. It is time that something should be done, for not only are many inscriptions becoming illegible, but, not to speak of tablets which have been converted into curry-stones, monuments are always being carried away by those grim wolves, the rivers of Bengal, who with privy paw daily devour apace, and nothing said.*

* In a Report on the Nadiya Rivers, Captain Lang mentions that the graveyard of the Jangipur Residency was carried away by the Bhagirathi in 1847.

At Sadukhali, in this district, there were some graves which are marked as "Old English tombs" in the survey map, and which, I have been told by natives, were the graves of *Sahebs*, and were, as such, broken into by thieves in quest of treasure. It seems to me not improbable that they were the graves of the soldiers who were killed at Plassey, or who afterwards died of their wounds. Plassey is only six miles to the south, and it is difficult to see what Englishmen's tombs they could be if they were not those of the heroes of Plassey. We know from Orme that Clive did not halt after the battle, but marched on to Dádpur, where he arrived at 8 P.M. Dádpur is almost the same as Sadukhali, only the latter is (or rather was, for the whole place has disappeared,) nearer the river. Clive had boats with him, and the dead and dying may have been brought up in them and interred at Sadukhali. But whatever the tombs were, they have now disappeared into the Bhagirathi. The only English grave now in the neighbourhood is in the grounds of the Dádpur Indigo Factory. It is inscribed:—

"To the Memory of T. W. Madden (?)"

The *n* is obliterated, and all the rest of the inscription.

KASIMBAZAR GRAVEYARDS.—The oldest European inscription in the district is that of Daniel van der Müyl in the Dutch burial-ground at Kalkapur. The date is 16th May, 1721. Kalkapur was the Dutch settlement at Kásimbazar, and is the Colca-poor of Hedges' Diary, pp. 41, 89, 122. Father Joseph Tieffen-thaler speaks of the vast and magnificent buildings of the Dutch at this place, but nothing now remains except the burial-ground. It is in good order and contains several tombs with Dutch inscriptions. None of these, however, is of special interest. The finest tomb has no inscription. It is an elegantly designed monument—the handsomest in the district—and consists of two tiers of pillars, supporting a ribbed cupola with bull's-eye openings, and finial. There is a vault beneath; so possibly the inscription is there. Colonel Gastrell says, in his Survey Report, that there are in this neighbourhood the remains of a Catholic chapel and a nunnery; but I have not been able to find them.

The oldest English inscriptions come from the Kásimbazar Residency. Two were removed when the Residency buildings were sold, and are in Mr. Lyall's compound at Babulbuna near Berhampore. One is dated 1737, and is to the memory of the wife of Mr. George Gray. The inscription is as follows:—

Hic jacet corpus pie et vere
Egregiæ dominæ Isabellæ Gray,
Uxoris domini Georgij Gray,
Quæ obiit September 9, 1737.

Mr. Gray was probably the chief of Maldah, and afterwards Member of the Council of Fort William. He quarrelled with

Lord Clive and left the country in 1766. The other is dated 1741, and is to the memory of Mary, Mrs. Charles Addams, and her infant children.

The Residency graveyard at Kásimbazar contains several interesting monuments. Pre-eminent among them is the monument erected by Warren Hastings to his first wife. According to Gastrell's Report, p. 12. the original inscription ran thus :—

To the Memory of
Mrs. WARREN HASTINGS
And her daughter ELIZABETH.
She died the 11th July 1759
In the 2* year of her age.
This monument was erected by her husband
Warren Hastings, Esq.,
In due regard to her memory.

The inscription appears to have become obliterated and now stands as follows :—

In Memory of
Mrs. Mary Hastings and her daughter Elizabeth
Who died 11th July 1759 in the 2 year of her age.
This monument was erected by her husband
Warren Hastings
In due regard to her memory.

Subsequently restored by Government of Bengal, 1863.

The "who" in this inscription is apparently a mistake, and makes it at first doubtful whether the reference is to the mother or the daughter. But the latter, as we learn from Gleig, survived her birth for only nineteen days. The first Mrs. Hastings was a widow when Hastings married her. A Captain Campbell had been her husband, and probably† he was the officer of that name who was accidentally shot at Budge-Budge, in December, 1756. The second figure must have been left out because the exact age was unknown. In the same cemetery there is a monument to a Mr. Dugald Campbell, who died at Rangamáti, 6th October, 1782, aged 32. Perhaps he was a connexion of Mrs. Hastings. A charming thing happened on my first visit to the grave of Mrs. Hastings and her infant daughter. The pinfold-like graveyard stands a little way off the road, among waste land and jungle, and has a melancholy and deserted look. The gate is at the north, and the tomb, which has a pent roof, made of slabs of black stone, and is shaped somewhat like a "Noah's Ark," is at the southern end, close against the wall. The grass was growing long and rank among the flat tombstones, and I picked my way carefully, stepping from stone to stone, so as to avoid treading on a possible cobra. But, when I got across and stooped down to enter under the roof, there was a fluttering of wings, and lo, a

* So in original, no second figure to mark the unit.—*Note by* COLONEL GASTRELL.

† Colonel Broome, p. 84, states positively that this was Mrs. Hasting's husband. His Christian name was Dugald.

dove flew out of the ark, as it were. I looked round, and there, in the corner of a ledge running round the inside, was her nest with two snow white eggs in it!

Several tombstones are without inscriptions. On one is written:—

Here lieth the body of
Mrs. SARAH MATTOCKS,
Who departed this life the 4th October 1788,
Aged 27 years.
Much lamented (*sic* by hir (*sic*) husband
Lieutenant-Colonel Mattocks.
Was the grand-daughter of the great
John Hampden, Esq., of St. James, Westminster.

There must be some mistake here, for Hampden was killed at Chalgrove in 1643, and Mrs. Mattocks was not born till nearly 120 years afterwards. It does not appear either why Hampden should be described as of St. James', Westminster. One inscription is interesting on account of the great age of the deceased. It is to a Charles Crommelin, who died 25th December, 1788, aged eighty-one. There is a monument to a Mr. Lyon Prager, Diamond Merchant and Inspector of Indigo and Drugs, who died at the age of 47, on 12th May, 1793, "having fallen a sacrifice to the severe heat of the climate from travelling in a palanquin from Calcutta." There are inscriptions in Persian and Nagari below the English one.

To the north of the graveyard, and separated from it by a road, is the site of the Kásimbazar Residency. It is known by the name of the Residency Hatta Bagan, and is, as the name implies, an orchard. On the north side of it are the remains of an earthen rampart. I could not find any other signs of civilised occupancy in the neighbourhood, except that a rayat pointed out to me a bit of elevated ground, as the Phansitolla, or gibbet-hill. The Phansitolla is a *nishan*, or mark, of most old stations in India.

The river formerly flowed past Kásimbazar and just to the north of the Residency. We are told that it deserted this bed about 1813, and that this caused a pestilence, and the depopulation of Kásimbazar. But it is a curious thing that this river bed is called the Katigang, as if it were an artificial channel, and there is a tradition that the *Sahebs* cut the channel and brought it out a little to the north of Farasdanga. A khal still exists there and is used by small boats in the rains. The Kásimbazar river was never a stream of much account in historical times, and was navigable only for a few months in the year. When MM. Bernier and Tavernier came to Sooty, in February, 1666, the former had to proceed to Kásimbazar by land on account of an obstruction in the navigation (II., 78, ed. of 1677). Elsewhere (II., 261) Tavernier calls the river a canal, and says

it is 15 leagues in length. Hedges (I., 77) writes that, on 12th April 1683, he got to Nadiya, and that the river above this was full of shoals. On the 14th *idem* he arrived at Maula, about 3 kos short of Kásimbazar, and went from thence by palki. Maula is Mahola, which is pronounced, and often spelt, Mowlah; and it may be mentioned, for the credit of the bearers, who seem to have taken several hours to convey Hedges, that the distance to Kásimbazar is 9 or 10 miles.

Just to the west of the Residency there is a very fine banyan tree, with its branches intertwined among the walls of a broken mosque. Further west is Kalkapur, and about a mile beyond is the Armenian church, built in 1758 by Khwajah Minas,* now disused, except that a priest comes once a year from Calcutta to offer prayers for a deceased benefactor in accordance with his bequest. The church is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and is a quaint and pathetic looking structure. There is an old picture over the altar, and there are a number of curious small paintings on the wooden gradients. Under the altar is a tank for baptising converts, and another in the vestry for the baptism of infants. There are many graves and inscriptions in and around the church, but they are mostly in Armenian. Many of them give dates according to the Armenian (?) epoch.

The French had also a settlement at Kásimbazar, or rather at Syedabad. It lay still further to the west than the Dutch and English settlements, and close to the existing channel of the Bhagirathi. The place is still called Farasdanga (the French height). In Tieffenthaler's work there is a plate (No. XXXI), showing the three settlements and also the Armenian church. The *posta*, or terrace, represented in front of the *Aedes Gallorum*,† is, perhaps, the walls of strong masonry which have now more than half fallen into the Bhágirathi. It is said that Dupleix was once at Syedabad, and certainly Law was here in 1756. Law was of Scottish origin and seems to have possessed Scotch sagacity. Had Sirajah-ud-Daula listened to him, the result of the battle of Plassey might have been different. In the Nizamut records, there is a letter of August, 1781, from the Governor-General to Mr. Pott, the Resident at Murshidabad, directing, with reference to a letter from Mr. Dangereux to the Nawab, that the French at Syedabad be restored to all the rights and privileges which they enjoyed before the late war. A little to the south-west of Farasdanga is Kunjaghatta, the residence of Maharajah Nunda Kumar's descendant, Durga Nath Roy. It does not appear that Nunda Kumar ever lived here, except as an occasional lodging. His home was at Bhadrapur, on the other side of the river, and now in the district of Birbhum.

* According to another account, it was built by a Mr. Peter Aratoon.

† Tieffenthaler wrote in Latin.

BERHAMPORE GRAVEYARD.—The principal Berhampore graveyard is situated at Babulbuna, about a mile to the north-east of the barracks. It contains several interesting monuments. Creighton of Goamalti, who was the first to make drawings of the ruins of Gaur, lies here, and close by is the grave of William Grant, of Chandny. Mr. Long, in his valuable article "The Banks of the Bhagirathi" (*C. R.*, Vol. VI.), remarks (page 433), that Grant was a friend and kindred spirit of Creighton, and was buried only a month after him. But the interval was even shorter, Creighton dying on 2nd October, 1807, and Grant on the 23rd idem. Probably they left Maldah together in bad health, for Chandny was one of the Goamalti factories, and was situated on the Pagla, about three miles south of Gaur.

I have already published Creighton's inscription. (*C. R.*, No. 183, page 153.) The one on Grant's tomb is evidently by the same hand.* It records that he left Rs. 40,000 for the purpose of supporting Christianity, and of translating the Scriptures into the Eastern languages. He died at the age of 38, and Creighton at 44. In their deaths they were not divided. Near at hand there are the graves of a Robert Creighton (ob. 1828), a civilian, who was perhaps a son of Henry, and his wife and daughter. Mrs. Sherwood's child is buried here. The inscription is:—

To the Memory of
HENRY SHERWOOD,
Infant son of Henry Sherwood, Esq.,
Paymaster, His Majesty's 53rd Regiment,
And Mary Martha Sherwood, his wife,
Who was born at Dinapore on Christmas Day, 1805,
And died at Berhampore, July 22nd 1807.
Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not,
For of such is the kingdom of Heaven.

It is often said that this Henry was the original of the hero of Little Henry and his Bearer; but this cannot be altogether correct, for he died when only nineteen months' old, and could never have held conversations with Boosy. The Henry of the story lived till he was eight years and seven months old. There can be no doubt, however, that Mrs. Sherwood was thinking of her own child when she wrote the story, and that this supplied the pathetic note, which otherwise would be wanting. "The first word that Little Henry tried to say was Boosy; and when he was only ten months old, he used to put his arm round his neck and kiss him, or stroke his swarthy cheek with his little delicate hand." It is such touches as these that make the book still fresh and beautiful, in spite of the narrowness and rigidity of its religion. Little Henry is represented as being born at

* Probably Charles Grant wrote both.

Dinapore and as dying at Berhampore, like Mrs. Sherwood's own child. And there is a sequel to Little Henry, called "The Last Days of Boosy," which has a frontispiece of Boosy before his little master's tomb, where the monument and its surroundings resemble Henry Sherwood's grave. In this tale Mrs. Sherwood writes of Berhampore as being exceedingly unhealthy, "as ill-suited to Europeans as any throughout the whole extent of our dominions in India." And yet it was here that such immense sums were spent on barracks. Rangamati, on the other side of the river, would have been a much healthier site, but it was on the wrong side for controlling Murshidabad.

In another part of the graveyard there is a monument to two children, and with the same quotation from the Bible as on that of Henry Sherwood. The inscription records the deaths of "two interesting infants," Martha and Mary Jackson, who perished in a storm near Jangipore on 12th May, 1815. A tablet in the cemetery wall records the death of a John Eustace Chinnery (June 1822). The monument was erected by the father, who was, perhaps, the well-known painter. A Colin Shakespeare, of the Civil Service, lies here. He died 6th April 1835, at the age of 64. Many years ago, the late Mr. Merrick Shawe (Thackeray's brother-in-law) told me that the original of Joseph Sedley was said to be Thackeray's own cousin, Shakespeare of Midnapore. Perhaps this was Colin Shakespeare.

Among the few inscriptions in the *Bengal Obituary* from this cemetery is one to a John Hyde of Manchester, who left his native country from a genuine love of knowledge, and reached India overland, after making researches in the Holy Land, Syria and Arabia. He was on his way to Calcutta, in order to embark for England, when he died, in April, 1825.

"By strangers honoured and by strangers mourned."

This line comes from Pope's elegy on The Death of an Unfortunate Lady.* Sir James Macintosh greatly admired the passage in which the line occurs. "He would not allow that they were cold, repeating 'By foreign hands, &c.,' and adding 'surely these are not cold!' He was much moved in repeating them." (*Memoirs* II., 469.)

The oldest monument is one put up by Colonel Skinner to his brother, who died in 1773. Many searches have been vainly made for the grave of George Thomas, the Rajputana adventurer, who died near Berhampore, on 22nd August, 1802.†

* I may be allowed to note here, that the lines on Rose Aylmer's tomb in the Park Street Cemetery, beginning "What was her fate? long, long before her time," come from Young's "Night Thoughts."

† *Asiatic Register* for 1804, page 14, of *Characters*.

The only other noteworthy grave, I think, is that of Captain R. Boileau Pemberton, who died at Berhampore, as Governor-General's Agent, on 26th June, 1840. Pemberton was a distinguished surveyor and chartographer, and was long employed in Munipore. Mr. Long tells us that Mrs. Sherwood lived in a house east of the burial-ground. Perhaps this was at Babulbuna, or further to the east, at Panchanand. In "The Last Days of Boosy," a Mr. Andrew McNeil describes a morning visit to the burial-ground, in words which are no doubt the expression of Mrs. Sherwood's own recollection. Mr. McNeil represents himself as having lost his firstborn in Berhampore. "He had to lay his infant's remains in the burial-ground at Berhampore, and it was a sad joy to choose for his resting-place the adjoining spot to the grave of the sweet and pious Henry L." Here the authoress was, no doubt, thinking of her own loss. It recalls the immortal touch in the Iliad when the captive women lay hold of the death of Patroclus as an excuse for indulging their own sorrows:—

Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶνδ' αὐτῶν κηδε' ἐκάστη.

"I arose, summoned my bearers, and was on my way to the well-remembered burying-ground before the stars had disappeared. There was not a person moving in the square of the cantonment, not a sound heard, so that the voices of my bearers, as they made their usual cries, fell hollow and melancholy upon my ear.

"The first beams of the sun had just shot up above the horizon, when we entered the plain beyond the cantonments. You, my good sir, must remember this plain; its vast extent and perfect level; its verdure without break or variety, as far as the eye can reach, excepting from a few gentlemen's houses standing here and there in the open space; the burial-ground enclosed with walls and gates, and clusters of the various kinds of palms, though these are few and far between. To my apprehension, disease and death hovered continually over this plain, the ground being always swampy, and sometimes entirely laid under water. On this morning, I well remember that, as the sun rose, the fog from the damp earth rose with it, so that we were very near the burying-ground before I saw the summits of the tombs rising above the high wall, so dimly did they show through the mist."

There is another large cemetery, about a mile to the south of the Babulbuna one. It was the Military cemetery, but is comparatively recent, and does not contain any inscriptions of general interest. Berhampore (Bahrampur) seems to be a corruption of the Hindu name of the place—Brahmapur, *i.e.*, the city of Brahma. Brahmapur is the name which the

original mouzah, or village, bears on the Collector's revenue-roll. Probably the name comes from the place having been a settlement of brahmans. One of the bathing-places in the river is called Bipraghât, or the brahman's ghât. The name does not appear to be in any way connected with the Mahomedan name Bahram. There is a place about five miles to the north-east and on the high road to Murshidabad, which has the very similar name of Bahramganj. Probably this has the same origin as Berhampore, though it may be connected with Bahram Jung, a son of Mahomed Reza Khan, otherwise Mozuffar Jung.

Berhampore was for many years only a military station. It was selected for this purpose some months after the battle of Plassey. In October 1757,* Captain Brohier proposed to Mr. Drake to build a pentagonal fort on the Berhampore plain; and, in January 1858, the Government wrote to the Directors that a fortified place near the capital of the Subaship would be the means of enforcing their influence at the Darbar, &c., and that they had obtained a grant of 400 bighas on Berhampore plain. But, as the Statistical Account of Bengal tells us, the Directors returned a rough answer, saying that the Board seemed to forget that their employers were merchants, and that if their plans for fortifying were adopted, half of the Company's capital would be buried in stone walls. To this day the barracks are called Garh-Berhampore by the natives. In the commercial days of the Company their servants lived at Kásimbazar. In February, 1658, John Kenn was appointed Chief of Kásimbazar on £40 a year, and Job Charnock was 4th on £20. Job was afterwards Chief here, in 1680. In 1678, a lady, with charming ignorance of Anglo-Indian requirements, sends her brother-in-law at Kásimbazar a box containing a cravat and cuffs and ribbon of the newest mode and a border of lace for his night-cap. Alas, he was dead before the box left England!†

MADAPUR,—Mádápur, three miles to the east of Berhampore, was another old Civil station. It was on the high road from Calcutta to Murshidabad, and was almost a suburb of the latter. Orme speaks of civilians having their country-houses at this place before the battle of Plassey. It is stated in the Statistical Account of Bengal, that the head-quarters of the English Administration were removed from Motijhil to Mádápur in 1785-86. But Mádápur seems to have become the official residence of the chief revenue authority as soon

*Long's *Selections*, p. 104.

†Hedges, II., 242. It is a pity that Colonel Yule did not give us the whole of the lady's letter.

as the Company stood forth as Diwan. Mr. Samuel Middleton was the Resident at the Darbar and Chief of Kásimbazar when Hastings wrote his famous dispatch of November, 1772, and in the Nizamat or Agency Records there are letters from Mr. Middleton, dated Mádápur, 1773. We find him writing from here to Mr. Henchman, the Collector of Jehangirpur (Jangipur). Mádápur remained the head-quarters for many years. Indeed the jail and lunatic asylum were there till very recent times. They are still standing, and in a tolerable state of repair.

It does not appear that in the early days of the Company any English official lived in the city of Murshidabad. A Hindu vakil, or agent, represented the Company at the Darbar, and occasionally their Medical Officers were able here, as well as at Rajmahal and Delhi, to do them good offices with the country powers. Mr. Forth, for instance, the surgeon of the Kásimbazar Factory, attended Alivardi Khan on his death-bed, and was instrumental in counteracting the influence of Sirajah-ud-Daula. But ordinarily the civilians were at Kásimbazar, and Mr. Watts and the rest of them were there when Sirajah-ud-Daula appeared before it on 1st June, 1756. During the negotiations with Mir Jaffar and the Seths, Mr. Watts lived in the city, and went from there on his hazardous journey to Mir Jaffar's palace. His object was to get him to swear to the observance of the treaties. Mir Jaffar was then living at Jaffarganj at the northern end of the city, and Sirajah-ud-Daula lived on the opposite side of the river at Hira Jhil.

"Mr. Watts proposed an interview, which Jaffar wished likewise; but objected that they could not meet without great risk of discovery, since his palace was strictly watched by the spies of the Nawab. However, Mr. Watts, relying on the fidelity of his own domestics, and on the manners of the country, went in the afternoon from his own house in a covered palanquin, such as carry women of distinction, and passed without interruption to Jaffar's palace; who, with his son Miran, received him in one of the apartments of his seraglio, into which the bearers carried the palanquin." The swearing must have been a striking scene. Mir Jaffir, who was a man of lofty stature, "placed the *Koran* on his head and his hand on the head of his son Miran, whilst Watts held the papers before him, and swore with great solemnity that he would faithfully perform all he had promised." The corresponding treaty by the English purported to be sworn on the Holy Gospels and before God.

Watts "returned, as he came, undiscovered," and one Omar Beg carried the papers to Calcutta. Sirajah-ad-Daula,

however, had his suspicions, and prepared to attack Mir Jaffir's palace. Jaffar communicated this to Watts on 11th June and advised him to escape at once. Watts had already made his preparations, and all the English property and the soldiers had been sent away from the factory at Kásimbazar. He, however, still stayed on, in expectation of hearing from Clive. On the 13th, Jaffar sent word to him that he must delay no longer as Sirajah-ud-Daula's artillery would fire on his palace next morning. Upon this Watts left his house in the city and went by palki to Kásimbazar, where he had lately been several times on pretence of business. There remained Mr. Collett, Mr. Sykes, and a Surgeon, who were to make their escape with him, and they had resided for some time at a country-house called Mádápur, about two miles to the south* of Kásimbazar." The picturesque account of their nocturnal ride to Agradwip and their joining Clive's army at Kálna should be read in Orme.

Mr. Watts played a leading part in Indian affairs before and after the battle of Plassey. It is satisfactory to learn that the painful task of telling Omichand that the red paper was a trick did not fall upon him. Scrafton, who had decoyed Omichand away from Murshidabad, and who all along had kept him in heart, was the man chosen to make the pitiful avowal. Was his death, perhaps, a sort of retribution for this, for he was lost in the Aurora, along, however, with better men, such as Vansittart, Ford and the poet Falconer? Yet Scrafton could speak with superiority of Hastings, as a man who had too many crooked lines in his head!

Among other things, Watts was, with Clive, a sponsor for Kiernander's child, which was called Robert William in consequence. But the most noteworthy thing about Mr. Watts' private life is that he was the third husband of Mrs. Frances Johnson.† According to the *Bengal Obituary*, Mrs. Watts was a great friend of Sirajah-ud-Daula's mother and was instrumental in procuring Mr. Watts' release in 1756. Hastings escaped at about the same time, and the Kásimbazar tradition, which is probably a true one, is that he owed his safety to his Diwan, Kanta Babu, who concealed him in a room. Hastings was famous for never forgetting a friend, or forgiving an enemy, and his conduct to Kanta seems to show the good side of his character. Watts went to England about 1760 and died there.

A little to the north of Mádápur is Chunakháli. This place, famous now, and perhaps in former times also, for the

* Should be south-east.

† My friend, the Rev. Mr. Hyde, informs me that there is a mistake in the inscription on Mrs. Johnson's monument, and that she was 18 when she was first married.

excellence of its mangoes, was a civil station in the last century. The sites of the bungalows may still be seen, and in 1773, we find Mr. Middleton writing from it to the Collector of Chunakháli. Near it is Hathinagar, where the Nawab seems to have kept his elephants. North of Chunakháli, and on the right-hand side of the high road to Murshidabad, we come upon a magnificent avenue of deodar trees (*Polyalthia longifolia*). An old Mahomedan, whom I met here, told me that the trees had been planted by Ampiere (?) *Saheb*, who preceded Lak (Loch?) *Saheb*, and that the avenue led to the Nishát Bagh and the seat of the Nizamat, where Nawab Mozaffer Jung (Mahomed Reza Khan) used to live.

Murshidabad is a great place for trees.* Nowhere in Bengal have I seen so many fine banyan trees. There are also some fine mahogany trees near the civil courts at Berhampore and some good avenues. But this avenue to Nishát Bagh is the noblest of them all. In other places, for instance, on the Kerebela road, leading to Kásimbazar, the deodars spread out more, and are short, but here the trees are planted close together and stand up tall and unbending for nearly a mile on each side of the road, as if, to borrow the picturesque comparison of Eothen Kinglake, they were an army of giants, with a thousand years pay in arrears.†

If we go to the end of this avenue and turn to the right and S. S. E., we shall come, in about half a mile, to Chand Pahar, a circular tank with an island in the centre, which supported a Nawab's bungalow, and if we turn to the left and N. E., we come to Nishát Bagh, or the Garden of intoxicating pleasures, but which is now only a small hamlet, occupied by Goallas. Nishát Bagh, says the translator of the *Sair Mutakherin*, is an elegant seat, five miles from Murshidabad, built, furnished and fitted in the English manner. Mahomed Reza Khan, *alias* Nawab Mozuffer Jung, lived here, and carried on his duties as Diwan here, though his family resided in the city, at a palace called Nau-sakht ‡ (newly built). It was at Nishát Bagh that he was arrested, in 1772, and removed to Calcutta.

"At midnight," says Macaulay, "the Minister was roused from his slumbers and informed that he was a prisoner. With Musalman gravity, he bent his head and submitted himself to the will

* Perhaps this is due to the sandy soil. A less pleasant result of the sandiness, is that the roads are covered with dust. If Jahangir had been here, he would probably have applied to Berhampore the name that he gave to Ahmadabad—Girdábád, or Dust-town.

† The comparison, however, is too grim and does not do justice to this beautiful avenue. Like Melrose, it should be visited by moonlight.

‡ This is in the part that used to be called Kolaria.

of God." The story is told more at large in the *Sair*.* There we read that the order for the arrest came to Mr. John Graham, the Chief of Murshidabad, when he was at supper with one of his nation. He quitted the company sooner than usual and repaired to his house, from whence he wrote a note to a Captain of troops, and straight this piece of intelligence was carried, I know not how, in the very words to Mahomed Reza Khan. But he was so full of the authority which he enjoyed, that he paid no regard to the intelligence, but recommenced another nap, with the utmost neglect and security. There remained no more than one hour of night, when the Captain, with a battalion of *talingas* (sepoys), arrived close to Nishât Bagh, accompanied by Mr. Anderson, and he stopped at the gate. Mr. Anderson, with some servants, went into the Nawab's apartment, and, after intimating the Governor's order, upon which he condoled with him, he added that there was no intention to do him any harm, or to make him uneasy at all on any account; but that such an order had come and must be obeyed. As Mahomed Reza Khan had neither the heart, nor the power, to make the least resistance, he inclined the head in token of submission, and consented to whatever was required of him. And so on. It is worth while to quote this vapid and wordy narrative, to show the skill with which Macaulay seized on the salient points and made a picture out of it. The author of the *Sair* also tells us that Mr. Graham was a great friend of Mahomed Reza's, and, as he could not save him, he managed that Shitab Roy should share his disgrace. "May God," adds the historian, "preserve the innocent from such artifices and such partialities." Mahomed Reza was made the scapegoat for the Bengal Famine of 1770. "Curious to relate," says Sir William Hunter, "the only high official who was brought to trial for the offence (of regretting, &c.,) was the Native Minister of Finance who had stood forth to expose the malpractices of the English administration." But, in fact, he only met the fate of nearly every native, from the days of Nanda Kumar to those of the Crawford Commission, who has had the temerity to give evidence against high-placed Englishmen.

The Judges of the Provincial Court of Appeal are said to have lived near Nishât Bagh, and to have held their courts there. A little to the north, at Bansbari, and situated on what was once a garden and is called Afzul Bagh, there is an old powder magazine, which seems to have been part of the Murshidabad jail. It was probably somewhere in this neighbourhood that Lord Valentia was entertained by Mr. Pattle.

* P. 419.

His Lordship, who was then on his way back to Calcutta, says : —“ At six P.M. we entered a nullah,* which is dry in the summer, but now has plenty of water, and which leads to the vicinity of Mr. Pattle's house. It was formerly the bed of the river, but a peninsula was cut through at a considerable expense, which has saved six miles of dangerous navigation. It has the appearance of a lake, formed by Browne,† with grass to the edge of the water, smooth, as if fresh mowed, and covered with groves of mangoes, occasionally retiring a considerable way back, and leaving open lawns of the richest verdure. As there was no current, we did not reach the end till eight o'clock.”

His host was Thomas Pattle, and not the celebrated James Pattle who entered the Service in 1790, and seems to have held on till 1845. Judges were Judges in those days, and Mr. Pattle drove Lord Valentia about in his carriage-and-four!

MOTIJHIL.—Nearer Murshidabad, and on the left of the road, is Motijhil, or the Pearl Lake, famous in the annals of Bengal, but now a wilderness. Clive staid here after the battle of Plassey, and the site of the house is still, I believe, called Clive Saheb's *Kothi*. Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar, waited on him here and conducted him across the river to Mansurganj, where Clive installed Mir Jaffar on the *masnad* and presented his *nuzzer* of gold mohurs. Hastings also lived here when he was Resident. It was here, too, that Clive, in conjunction with the Nawab (Najam-ud-Daula), held the *Punya*, or perception of the first fruits, on 29th April 1766.‡ The Nawab sate as *Názim*, and Clive as Collector of Revenues for His Majesty (the King of Delhi!). Next year the *Punya* was again held here, with even greater pomp, by Mr. Verelst, in conjunction with Saif-ud-Daula.

Mr. Long states that Sirajah-ud-Daula set out from Motijhil on his march to Plassey. But this does not appear to be correct. He marched from Mansurganj; and it is a mistake to suppose that this was another name for Motijhil. Muradbagh and Motijhil are, I believe, the same, but Mansurganj was much higher up the river and on the other side of it. §

There has been some dispute as to the origin of the Pearl Lake; but I should think that Major Rennel's authority is conclusive on the point. He says (*Memoir of a Map of Hindustan*, p. 345, &c.) : “ The Motijhil Lake is one of the windings of a former channel of the Kásimbazar river.” The place seems first to have been made a residence by Nawazish

* Was this the Katigang at Farasdanga?

† Capability Browne.

‡ Long's *Selections*, p. 439.

§ *Sair Mutakherin* II., 28.

Mahomed, otherwise Shahamat Jung, the nephew and son-in-law of Alivardi Khan. In the Nizamat* letter-book for 1789 there is a petition from the *Faquirs* of Motijhil, setting forth that Shahamat Jung erected a mosque, a madrasa, and a langarkhana (alms-house) there in 1156 (1743). The alms-house still exists, but on a small scale. A tombstone, now lying loose there, but which was found in the neighbourhood, records the death of a child—Ewan Keating—on 3rd March, 1785. Probably he was a son of Mr. Christopher Keating of Hunter's *Rural Annals*. Mr. Keating was appointed Mint Master at Murshidabad in September, 1774, and in 1793 he was a Judge of the Court of Appeal.

The author of the *Sair* is enthusiastic in praise of Nawazish Mahomed for his charities. After telling us that he died in 1169 H. S. (1756), and that his body was taken to Motijhil to be buried, he says: "The moment they first raised his body from the ground, such a cry and such a scream broke out at once from an infinity of men and women, as seemed to rend the air; it was such as had never been seen or heard on the like occasion at any time before. But there is no wonder if he was so much regretted; he used to spend Rs. 37,000 a month in charities He was fond of living well, and of amusement and pleasures; could not bear to be upon bad terms with any one; and was not pleased when a disservice was rendered to another He loved to live with his servants, as their friend and companion; and with his acquaintances, as their brother and equal. All his friends and acquaintances were admitted to the liberty of smoking their *hooqas* in his presence, and to drink coffee, whilst he was conversing familiarly with them."

After his death his widow, Ghasiti Begam, lived at Motijhil, till she was plundered and driven out by Sirajah-ud-Daula. Her palace (afterwards, I believe, occupied by Clive) was "a stately pile, being ornamented with many pillars of black marble (basalt) brought from the ruins of Gour; † some of them are still lying on the grass jungle. Tieffenthaler calls Motijhil a great and magnificent palace, and he gives a plan of it (Plate XXX). A note by Bernouilli mentions that Motijhil has been described in Mrs. Kindersley's letters. Apart from historical associations, ‡ Motijhil is well worth a visit on account of its beauty. The lake curves round a long, broad promontory, and

* These are the records of the Murshidabad Agency. They begin from 1769, but are not of much value.

† Stewart, 488 m.

‡ Colonel Mangleson (*Decisive Battles of India*, p. 150) speaks of an engagement at Motijhil, between Major Adams and Mir Kásim's troops in 1763. And Mill tells us that the English advanced to Chunakháli on 23rd July, 1763, and next day stormed the lines at Motijhil.

its bright waters and verdant banks form a charming spectacle on a spring morning. When the palace, with its colonnades, stood on the edge of the lake, and the grounds were tended, as tradition says they were, by a hundred gardeners, it must have been a pleasure-house fit for Kubla Khan. An Englishman might, perhaps, prefer the ruddy cliffs and breezy upland of Rangamati, but a Bengali would regard Motijhil as the most beautiful spot in the district, and as a *Bhukailas*, or earthly paradise.

The promontory is still known as the Agenti Bagh, or Agent's Garden, but most of the fruit trees have disappeared. Sir John Shore lived here in 1771-73, and described himself as enjoying cooing doves, whistling blackbirds, and purling streams. The cooing doves he would have in abundance, and the whistling blackbirds may pass, but only a calenture can have enabled him to see purling streams.

MURSHIDABAD.—Murshidabad was anciently called Makhsusabad, or Maqsudabad,* and, according to Tieffenthaler, it was founded by Akbar. This seems corroborated by the fact that a place to the east of the city is still known as Akbarpur. The name Murshidabad was given by Murshid Quli Khan, otherwise Jaffar Khan. Tieffenthaler says that his name was originally Kár Talab Khán, and that he turned out Sapahdar Khan. He had his residence at Colaria (Kolaria) at the east of the city. According to the translator of the *Sair*, Kolaria is the original name of the city. He says (I., 254 note) Colaria is become Macsoodabad, and of late Moorshoodabad.

Murshidabad was formerly much more extensive than it now is. It stretched along both sides of the river for nearly ten miles. The portion on the west bank is called Máhinagar, perhaps after Mahipal, who dug the large tank at Sagardighi Station. Tieffenthaler gives a plan of the city (Plate XXIX). Orme speaks of Sirajah-ud-Daula's living at Hirajhil, on the other side of the river, *in the middle of the city*. Mir Jaffar lived at Jaffarganj, on the left bank, *i.e.*, on Kásimbazar island, and the descendants of his son Miran still reside there. Probably they consider themselves better entitled to the Nawabship than the present family. For not only was their ancestor, Miran, the eldest son of Jaffar, but he was also the son of the chief wife, his mother, Shah Khanam, being half-sister to Alivardi Khan. Nazam-ud Daula, on the other hand, who succeeded Mir Jaffar in 1765, was the son of Mani Begum, and so was his brother and successor, Saif-ud-Daula. Mubarak-ud-Daula, the next

* Perhaps, after Maqsud Shah—See *Calcutta Review*, No. 183, p. 39. The Riyaz derives the name from a merchant called Maqsus Khan. Tavernier visited the town in 1666. He calls it Madesoubazarki, and says it was a large place and the residence of Shaista Khan's Receiver-General (Diwan), II., 82.

Nawab, was also a son of Mir Jaffar, but his mother was Bahu Begum. Still the succession went according to the Mahomedan law if the Nawabship was regarded as hereditary,* for Miran died in his father's lifetime, having been killed by lightning in July, 1760 (1173 H. S.), and the Mahomedan law does not recognize the right of representation. It was at Jaffarganj that Sirajah-ud-Daula was murdered by Miran's orders, and the precise spot is still pointed out, and even the marks of his bleeding fingers on the wall.

There are few old buildings of any consequence in Murshidabad. The most noteworthy is the Katra of Murshid Quli Khan, otherwise Jaffar Khan. Murshid Quli was the son of a Brahman, but was bought by a Persian merchant and taken to Ispahan and made a Mahomedan. Afterwards he came to the Deccan and was appointed by Aurangzeb, Diwán of Hyderabad. In 1701 he was made Diwán of Bengal. He was at first stationed at Dacca, but quarrelled there with Aurangzeb's grandson, Azim Ushan, and removed to Murshidabad in 1703. He was a very zealous Mahomedan and a great oppressor of the Hindus, though the ordinary reflection about the bitterness of an apostate can hardly be applied to him, as probably he never knew what Hinduism was, and was made a Mahomedan by a surgical operation. Towards the close of his life he determined to make a *Katra*, or market, and to place in the centre of it a mosque and his own tomb. He chose for this purpose the eastern side of the city, and is said to have pulled down a number of Hindu temples, in order to get materials. Apparently the design was not completed; for no remains exist of the Katra proper, *i.e.*, of the market-place. The spot is still called Jaffar Khan's Katra, and a *hât* is held twice a week, and there is some business in onions, but it seems never to have become a centre of trade, and is now more or less a jungle.

The mosque was completed, and, though now a ruin, was a large and stately building. It is said to be on the model of the mosque at Mecca. It stands on a high terrace, or platform, about 166 feet square, and has five large cupolas, now more or less cracked. Inside, over the prayer-niche, the *Kalima* is inscribed; and over the door-way there is the following inscription in Persian:—

* محمد عربی کہ ابروے مرد و سراسر است
 * کہیںکہ خاک درش نیست خاک بر سر او
 ۱۱۳۷

* Apparently it was not. See note to Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 420. But then if it was not heritable, Miran's children had no superior claim.

Muhammad the Arabian the glory of both worlds
(*Sarai*). Dust be on the head of him who is not the dust of his portal.
1137 (1723).

The date is below the inscription, and in small characters, so as to be hardly legible from the ground. But the verse contains a chronogram, the words *Khák Daresh* reading, I am told, 1125 (1713). I cannot explain the discrepancy. It cannot be that one is the date of commencement, and the other of completion, for the building is said to have been erected in one year. 1137 must be the correct date, for Murshid Quli built the mosque near the end of his career, and in the consciousness of approaching death, and he died in 1139, or 1725.

The mosque has sunk by its own weight, and so has the whole of the western part of the square. Here there are two lofty octagonal minarets, from which a good view of the city may be obtained. All round the square are rows of small rooms intended for travellers, and for *Qáris*, i.e., readers of the *Qorán*. Murshid himself is buried in a chamber under the stairs, at the east end of the terrace. It is said that he ordered this out of humility, wishing that the dust of the feet of the worshippers might fall on his breast. Others explain that he wished to benefit by the dust of holy men's feet. Perhaps the inscription contains an allusion to the mode of his burial. A native chronicler relates that he put his own son to death for infringing his laws. Could it have been the remembrance of this deed that made him conscious that he was a sinner?

The copper finials of the cupolas are still in position, and there are the remains of elegant floral designs in two windows.

A little to the north-east of the Katra is the great natural curiosity of Murshidabad. This is a huge gun which has been drawn up off the ground by two *pipal* trees. It lies horizontally and is slung alongside of the tree trunks, and clasped by their roots. The carriage and parts of the gun are altogether embedded in the trees. The gun is 17 feet 7 inches in length but is of small calibre.*

There are nine Persian inscriptions on brass plates let into the metal; but three are illegible, or covered up by the trees. I am indebted to Babu Bangsi Dhar Roy, lately Deputy Collector in charge of Nizamat Pensions, for the other six. Five of them are in verse, and their purport is to praise Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal, and to give a chronogram of the completion of the gun. The chronogram is Jahan Kasha, the subduer of the world, and this gives the date 1047 H. S., corresponding to 1637. The prose inscription recites that the

* It is a great deal smaller than the one which used to be at Dacca, but which fell into the river last century. It was 22 feet 10½ inches long, the diameter at the muzzle was 2 feet 2½ inches, and it weighed over 28 tons, and carried a ball of 465 lb.—Rennel's *Memoir*, p. 61 note.

gun was made in the reign of Shah Jahan and Governorship of Islam Khan at Jahangirnagar (Dacca), under the Darogahship of Sher Mahomed and the inspection of Hari Ballabh Das, by Janarjan, blacksmith, in Jamadi-ul-Sani 1047. The weight is described as 212 maunds (over 7 tons) and the charge of powder as 28 maunds (1 ton).^{*} The gun is worshipped by Hindus and Mahomedans; and when I last saw it, the muzzle was daubed with vermilion, and inside there was a pinch of sugar.

Murshid Quli was succeeded by his son-in-law, Shuja-ud-Daula. He is highly praised by Gholam Hoosein for his ability and love of justice. He prettily says of him that the fearful sparrow, certain of finding in his bosom a shelter from the hawk's pursuit, flew towards him with a perfect reliance on his goodness. Shuja built, or at least finished, a large mosque on Dahpara, on the west side of the river, and made a garden there to which he gave the name of Farah Bagh, or the Garden of Joy. The garden has now disappeared, and half of the mosque has tumbled into the river. Shuja is buried south of the Farah Bagh, at Roshan Bagh. The date on his tomb is 1151 (1739). He was succeeded by his luckless son Sarfaraz. Gholam Hoosein gives him a high character for devotion, but represents him as not fitted to rule. He says nothing about the insult to Jagat Seth's daughter-in-law. Sarfaraz had at least personal courage, and so was far superior to Sirajah-ud-Daula. After he was killed at the battle of Gheria, his *mahout* brought the body to Murshidabad, and it was privately interred there at his residence of Naktakhali, on the east side of the city. He was the only Nawab who died a soldier's death. Maulvi Mahmud-ul-Nabi, Deputy Magistrate of Lalbagh, tells me that the grave still exists in Naktakhali; † but there is no inscription, and the place is in a neglected condition. There is also a mosque there with the date 1146.

Alivardi Khan, the ablest of all the Nawabs, is buried at Khush Bagh, on the west side of the river and opposite Motijhil. His grandson, Sirajah-ud-Daula's mangled body was laid there, after having been carried through the city on an elephant, and exposed to the view of his distracted mother, Amina Begum. One or two of his wives are also buried there. Probably the lady referred to by Forster, as being in the habit of coming to the tomb of Sirajah-ud-Daula and

^{*} I am indebted to Maulvi Abdul Alim of the Nizamut Office, for the translations.

† The place is locally called Lengtakali. It is east of Shahanagar thana, and on the right-hand side of the road from the thana to the big gun. The mosque is in better preservation than the Katra one, and is a handsome building.

mourning there, was Umdat-un-nissa. I doubt if she was the same as Latif-un-nissa, whom Gholam Hoosein describes as a slave-girl. Umdat-un-nissa was living in August, 1791, as there is a petition from her of that date in the Nizamat records. She says she used to get Rs. 500 a month, that Mr. Hastings reduced it to Rs. 450, but that now it had been reduced to Rs. 325.

The tombs of the subsequent Nawabs—Mir Jaffar, Mubarak-ud-Daula and others, and of Mani Begum—are at Jaffarganj, opposite Nawab Azim Ali Khan's palace. This place is well cared for, and some of the graves are prettily decorated with porcelain tiles from China. Gholam Hoosein has a story that, when Mir Jaffar was dying, Nanda Kumar gave him water that had bathed the image of Kiriteshwari at Kiritkona. Kiritkona is a famous temple on the west side of the Bhagirathi, and is supposed to be the place where the crown of Kali's head (Kirit) fell. The name may, therefore, remind us of "Becket's crown" as described by Dean Stanley.

In Mohimapur, north of Jaffarganj, and on the left-hand side of the road to Azimganj, there may be seen the ruined house of Jagat Seth, "the Banker of the World." The Murshidabad Mint was here, and its foundations still exist. The only relic of former magnificence is an impluvium, or cistern, with a stone border. The Thakurbari has fallen into the river. It was in Jagat Seth's house that Omichand was told that the red treaty was a fraud. The news "overpowered him like a blast of sulphur." In August, 1757, we find Clive writing* that, as Omichand's intriguing disposition was carrying him too far, he had recommended him to make a visit of devotion to Maldah. This was like the Delhi Emperors sending troublesome subjects on pilgrimages to Mecca. But Maldah was too near Murshidabad for such a purpose, and there is no famous pagoda there, such as Orme speaks of. Perhaps Maldah is a mistake for Malwa, where the holy Nerbuddah flows; or its capital, Mandu, may be the place meant. Jagat Seth's family is now represented by an adopted son (Seth Golab Chand). He does not get any pension.

North of his house, a tall pillar is seen rising out of the bed of the river. This is a circular well, which—thanks to the substantial masonry—continues erect, though all the soil and neighbouring houses have been washed away. Near here, too, may be seen a circular temple with a brass finial. It marks the site of a Sati, and is called the Sati-Chaura,† a name which recalls the massacre of Cawnpore.

*Long's *Selections*, p. 109.

†Chaura.—"The funeral pile on which *Sati* is performed."—Fallon's *Dictionary*, 547.

Plassey (Palási) is now in the district of Nadiya, but so near to the borders of Murshidabad that I feel justified in noticing it. It formerly belonged to the Murshidabad district, and perhaps ought to belong to it still, for it is ten miles nearer Berhampore than it is to Krishnagur. It is part of what used to be called Kásimbazar island, and Ramnagar Factory and other places opposite it, or southwest of it, are still in Murshidabad, though on the other side of the river. Apparently the name Plassey comes from the palas tree (*Butea frondosa*), but there are no palas trees in the village, and perhaps there never were any.* Plassey is the name of the pargana, a tract of country 240 miles square, as well as of the village, so the eponymous trees may have been elsewhere.

Plassey is a large village, containing some 250 houses and several thousand acres. It has a bazar and a silk filature, and appears to be fairly flourishing, although the crops have suffered much this year from want of water. The grove of Plassey has entirely disappeared. In 1802 Lord Valentia changed bearers here. He speaks of the magnificent tope; but the last tree died in 1879. The stumps and roots are said to have been dug up and sent to England; and the natives have a story that the *Saheb* who did this, died immediately afterwards. The grove, the Palasi Bagh of native writers, was an orchard composed of mango and other fruit trees. It, of course, is not the grove where Clive meditated and decided on fighting. That was at Kátwa, lower down, and on the other side of the river. It would be interesting to know whether it still exists.

Many of the trees have been washed away, but probably some died of old age, for the whole of the grove does not appear to have diluviated. That much land, however, at Plassey has been washed away and then re-formed, may be seen from Sir William Hunter's eloquent essay: "A River of Ruined Capitals." One village (Bidupara) was pointed out to me as having gone to the other side of the river, it being now on the west, or Ramnagar, side.

Government has erected a granite obelisk to mark the site of the battle. It stands within the embankment, and looks west towards the river. A marble tablet contains the words:—

Erected by the Bengal Government, 1883.

Above is the solitary word "Plassey." Simplicity is admirable, but it might have been well to add the date (23rd June 1757). A little to the north, and close to the site of the last mango tree, is the grave of a Mahomedan officer who fell in the battle. One

* Mr. Long quotes Sir William Jones's writing, that there were formerly palas trees at Plassey.

villager told me his name was Daulat Ali, while another said that he was called Akbar Ali, and that he was a Jemadar. The grave is under the shade of some young trees—a tamarind, &c.,—and is worshipped by Hindus and Mahomedans. Thursday is the special day of worship, and this is interesting, because it shows that tradition has preserved the correct anniversary. The 23rd June, 1757, was a Thursday, and corresponds with 5th Shawal 1170 H. S. I witnessed the celebration on Thursday, the 4th February last. The little enclosure was strewn with uncouth clay models of horses, and a *faqir* moved among them, waving a pot of incense. The visitors were chiefly women. They poured water on the roots of the trees, *salaamed* to the *Pir*, and gave offerings of rice. Many come in hopes of being cured of their diseases, and that day two sick people had come in a cart.

The real Musalman hero of Plassey was Mir Madan,* and unfortunately for his fame he is not buried here, but at Faridtolla, east of Faridpur, and about five miles north of Plassey. He was killed by a cannon ball, while endeavouring to carry the grove. Farid Saheb was a noted saint, and is buried at Farid-tolla under a domed tomb, surrounded by a wall. Mir Madan's tomb is also of masonry, and lies inside the same enclosure, and to the west of Farid's. His tomb, too, is worshipped; but I doubt whether it is as popular as that at Plassey. Mir Madan's fate resembles that of Talmash in 1694. Both were the victims of treachery, and both were killed by a cannon ball in the thigh. North of Daulat Ali's grave is what is called Lakha Bagh, the Garden of a hundred thousand trees. Apparently this is the entrenchment of Ray Dulabh Ram described by Orme. It is now pasture land, and full of fragrant *babul* trees. The eastern trench is still very distinct and extends for a long way to the south. At one place on the line, there is a slight elevation, and some *bael* trees, and this is pointed out as the site of a redoubt. A vast plain stretches to the east and north-east. It is high in parts, and produces much thatching grass. There is an old, dried-up tank in the middle of the plain, and near it, and south-west of the village of Ekdalla, a trifling elevation is known as Burujdanga, the height of the redoubt.

The Public Works Department inspection bungalow is near the north end of the Lakha Bagh, and just behind it is a pool left by the river, which is known by the name of Kalidaha.

It may be noted here that the battlefield of Plassey lies north of Plassey properly so-called, and is in Teznagar, so that those who speak of the battle of Senlac may on a similar principle speak of the battle of Teznagar.

* Colonel Malleeson's spelling Múdn is wrong.

It was interesting to find that the villagers knew something about the battle. They spoke of the treachery of Mir Jaffar and the heroism of Mir Madan, and one man was enthusiastic enough to say that Mir Madan's * fame would last as long as the world. Being Mahomedans, however, they were unjust to Mohan Lal, and had got hold of a wrong story about him.

Clive was afraid to halt at Plassey after the battle, lest his troops should disperse to plunder. This was a wise precaution. The want of it cost Major Carstairs the loss of Patna, six years afterwards. Clive marched on to Dádpur and arrived there at 8 P.M. Next morning he met Mir Jaffar and saluted him as Nawab. Next day he marched six miles further, and on the 25th, halted at Mádápur. The army on its march must have passed through the Mankara plain, where Alivardi Khan treacherously massacred Bhashkar Pandit and the other Mahratta generals in 1744. Gholam Hoosein, the Mahomedan historian, has no word of blame for this atrocity. He is severe on Alivardi's conduct towards Sarfaraz Khan, calling it one of the blackest actions that could be committed, and one of the most abominable events that could happen. But of the Mankara affair he says, that it gave such an addition to Alivardi's character, as raised him in the minds of both his troops and his subjects, who admired their being so suddenly delivered from those merciless savages. "Nor were the troops less pleased with their unexpected success. And, as an acknowledgment of their alertness in executing his commands, he made them a present of ten lakhs of rupees."

It is interesting to contrast the lights and shades of Orme's history with those of the Mahomedan historian. Thus the latter does not say a word about the Black Hole,* but has a high encomium on one Mirza Emir Beg for saving a number of English ladies and taking them down to Mr. Drake's ship.

Macaulay's essay on Clive is hastier and less accurate than most of his work. Not to mention such inaccuracies as those about Sirajah-ud-Daula's sleeping off his debauch, and about Omichand's being a Bengali, there are some mistakes from which a careful reading of Orme and the *Sair* would have saved him. The statement: "Clive had advanced to Kásimbazar," may be only a clerical error for Kátwa, but when he tells us that the English troops arrived at Plassey long after sunset, after a toilsome day's march, he has overlooked the fact that they marched at night. They started at sunset and arrived at 1 A.M. It was not likely that Clive would march his men under a June sun. Then he says that Sirajah-ud-Daula fled from the field

* Mir Madan was a Dacca man, and of humble origin. He was made Mir Bakshi, or Commander-in-Chief, in the room of Mir Jaffar.

It is stated in the *Vindication* of Sir Thomas Rumbold that he was Clive's aid-de-camp at Plassey, and was severely wounded there. This should cover a multitude of sins.

of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him, and arrived at Murshidabad in little more than twenty-four hours. The camel is borrowed from Orme, and for picturesqueness is made fleet, but to little purpose, if the ride took more than twenty-four hours, for Murshidabad is not above twenty-nine miles from Plassey. The fact is that, according to Orme, Sirajah-ud-Daulah reached Murshidabad before midnight of the 23rd, *i.e.*, in about seven hours, and that, according to other authorities, he arrived early next morning. Neither is it correct that he escaped in a boat from Murshidabad, though Orme says so. He went by land to Bhagwangola, and there embarked on the Ganges.

I have received help from many friends in compiling this imperfect sketch of old Murshidabad. I am especially indebted to Maulvi Mahmud-ul-Nabi, Deputy Magistrate of Lalbagh. I owe to the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad the use of a copy of Haji Mustapha's translation of the *Sair*. This copy contains one or two entries in the Haji's own hand. His translation is very valuable, and was evidently much used by Lord Macaulay. He lived for a long while in the city of Murshidabad, and this makes his notes very interesting. Unfortunately, too many of them are in the style of Captain Burton. His translation might advantageously be reprinted with a selection of his notes. His Gallicisms are very pardonable, and need not be altered.

There is a Persian M.S. in the Library of the Asiatic Society called the *Tarikh Mansuri*. It is less than fifty years old, but it is valuable and deserves to be printed. It is a history of the Nawabs of Murshidabad. Some extracts from it by Mr. Blochmann have been given in the 9th volume of the Statistical Account of Bengal.† This last is a very useful work, but wants re-editing. Many of its statements are erroneous. Mr. Long's article, *The Banks of the Bhagirathi*, is full of information, but the author has poured out his treasures helter-skelter. He also seldom gives his authorities.

H. BEVERIDGE.

* The translator notices the omission and says: "This event, which cuts so capital a figure in Mr. Watts' performance (I do not know what paper is here referred to), is not known in Bengal." Perhaps we ought not to say very much about the Black Hole, or regard it as a detestable instance of malignity on the part of Sirajah ud-Daula, seeing that a similar misadventure occurred in the Amritsur district on 1st August, 1857. Mr. Cooper tells us how a great number of captured sepoys were shut up in a large, round tower, or bastion, and how, after 237 of them had been taken out and shot, it was reported that the remainder would not come out. "The doors were opened, and behold! they were nearly all dead. Unconsciously the tragedy of Holwell's Black Hole had been re-enacted. . . . Forty-five bodies—dead from fright, exhaustion, fatigue, heat and partial suffocation—were dragged into light." — *The Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 162.

† They originally appeared in *J. A. S. B. for 1867*, p. 85.

ART. VI.—A CONTRIBUTION TO THE
EDUCATION QUESTION.

IN the year 1835, and in a Resolution dated March 7th of that year, Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, expressed the notable opinion, "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India," with the further important and practical suggestion, "that all funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone." Up to the date of this Resolution no serious attempt had been made to spread a knowledge of English among the natives of India and thereby introduce the seeds of the culture of the West. Then was the Golden Age to which, in the harassed life of to-day, Her Majesty's Civil Servants in the Indian Empire may look back wistfully, when the primitive simplicity of the kingdom of Saturn still prevailed, and when patent leather shoes as yet shone not in Government offices ; when the B. A. of Calcutta, the failed Entrance student, the supercilious pass-man in First Arts, the quaint vagaries of Babu English, and all the other astonishing products of English education in India as yet were not.

From that time to the present day fifty-six years have passed, and to-day finds a curiously different state of things existing. A University, framed on English models, is seated in Calcutta, with a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, Senate, Fellows, Faculties, Boards of Studies, Examinations, Degrees and all the paraphernalia of the modern academical system. In the year just past this University let loose upon Bengal and the world 231 Bachelors of Arts and 693 successful candidates in First Arts, while the number of youths whose claim to consideration and office, is failure to satisfy the examiners at the Entrance Examination, reaches the formidable total of 2,238. English-speaking clerks swarm in Writers' Buildings, in Mofussil Kacheris, in Railway Booking-offices. Everywhere Hindu and Muhammedan school-boys hail each other with English forms of greeting, and shout to each other at English games in a curious jargon of mixed English and Vernacular. The traveller, the camping official, hears the familiar sound of his mother tongue, or some more or less pleasing imitation thereof, in the most unlikely places—on the crests of lonely hills, and deep in outlandish recesses of the plains. Above all, there is the educated Babu of Calcutta and his humbler imitation in other places, with his sleek air and his Oxford shoes, with his external veneer of English manners

and his rooted conservative instinct in favour of the essentials of Hinduism. The graduate of Native Universities is an accomplished fact, a social factor, a political force,—and will have to be reckoned with in any future solution of the problem of India's destiny.

If we glance back over the work of these fifty-six years, and bear in mind from how small a beginning the present state of things has been brought about ; if we reflect on the nature of the undertaking, and how slow and tedious improvement must necessarily have been ; if we consider the immense difficulties of the task—difficulties on both sides, on the side of the teacher and on the side of the taught, together with climatic influences, enervating alike to both,—if we duly weigh these things, we may fairly conclude that, all elements of incongruity or absurdity notwithstanding, a really remarkable fact has been accomplished in the educational organisation built up under the auspices of the Government of Bengal. For we begin practically with zero—a very limited aspiration of Western learning, no teachers, no buildings, no books, no system ; everything had to be fresh created and set going.

How crude were these beginnings, how fundamental the difficulties to be contended with, a few quotations from early reports on education may serve to show. Thus, in the Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction for the year 1837, we read of the school established at Dacca : “The most proficient of this school had learnt the first proposition of the first book of Euclid. Their English studies were Goldsmith's History of England. They had advanced in Arithmetic as far as compound proportion, and were familiar with Elementary Geography.” Of the school at Bhagulpore it is reported : “In July last there were fifty pupils divided into four classes.” The studies of the most advanced are quite elementary.” Only in Calcutta itself, at the Hindu College and the Calcutta Madrasah, is there any advance beyond the absolutely primitive stage, and that limited. Other reports exhibit the kind of obstacles and obstructions with which the new movement had to contend. The Report of the Local Committee at Ghazipore notices that the education offered at the school still continued to be little appreciated by the inhabitants. The frequency of withdrawals, and the irregularity of attendance are complained of by the Head-master. He accounts for this by the fact that “the parents connect no prospect of advancement in life with the course of education offered.” In a report on the newly-established school at Chupra, three years later, it is stated : “The school had not, however, become popular among the natives, ‘from some unaccountable dread of a mysterious influence being likely to

be exercised over the religion of their children, nor do they look with favour on what they still consider as only preparing good English writers for the Government offices.'” As to Furrackabad, the Committee seem to have been somewhat exercised in mind by some lectures delivered to the scholars by a local enthusiast. “On full consideration,” says the report, “the General Committee doubt the expediency at present of making Medical Science an object of the school studies. The institution is as yet in its infancy, and the General Committee is not without apprehension that the time devoted to medical lectures might interfere with the efficient cultivation of English Literature and General Science.” Of Bareilly it is naively said: “The first class consisted nominally of three; but of these one is stated to have done nothing; of the other two, one is a naik of the 42nd Regiment, who had read 101 fables, English Reader No. III, and advanced as far as the rule of three in Arithmetic.” At Meerut they are more progressive. We read: “The most advanced class of the school consisted of seven scholars; and the following is an outline of their studies, showing an advanced standard of proficiency with reference to the past year:—English Literature; Marshman’s History of India; English Reader No. VII; Arithmetic as far as square root; Geometry as far as 5th proposition, 1st book; Geography; General knowledge of the relative position of countries and particularly that of India; Natural Science and Properties of Matter.” A last illustration is tempting. Of Jubbulpore it is recorded: “There were twenty-four pupils in the school on 1st January 1838. . . These were distributed into three classes. The first class consisted of nine pupils, who have read 112 pages of Reader No. I, learn the Elements of English Grammar, and have commenced writing on slates.” Such was English education in 1837.

Compared with these humble beginnings, the existence of a respectable standard of higher English education in Bengal and in India is surely a remarkable achievement. The University of Calcutta now requires for its matriculation, or Entrance Examination, a competent knowledge of English and one other language out of a list of sixteen, classical and modern, oriental and occidental; a proficiency in Arithmetic, in Algebra up to simple equations, and four books of Euclid; the Outlines of the Histories of India and England and the Elements of Geography. The course followed at numerous affiliated colleges for a Pass-degree, after general intermediate examination, known as the Examination in First Arts, includes a critical study of portions of Shakespeare, Milton, and four other English classics, joined with one of two alternatives—on the literary side, the Elements of Ethics and Psychology, together with

either a second language, or History and Political Economy, or Mathematics ; on the scientific side, Mathematics, including Statics, Dynamics, Hydrostatics, and either Physics, or Chemistry, or Physiology, or Geology.

This is for the Pass-degree ; for Honours, which may be taken in English, in Mathematics, History or any other of the branches of study above distinguished, considerable additions are made to the above list, and a higher standard is exacted. The M. A. degree is offered for more advanced studies in English, Greek, Latin, Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew or Pali, in History, in Mathematics, in Mental and Moral Science, or in any of the ordinary branches of Natural and Physical Science. In 1890 examinations were actually held in Latin, English, Sanscrit, Persian, Philosophy, Mathematics, Natural Science. The formidable extent of the course prescribed may best be seen by a glance at the University Kalendar.

These are surely not altogether mean results for the work of the past fifty years. Merely that such an organization should exist and be in full working order, and that, in place of a solemn inquisition into the elements by amateur committees, a University should be yearly holding examination for close on 7,000 candidates, are surely facts, the bare statement of which goes far to justify the faith of the original promoters of English education in India, and to render hope for the future neither feeble nor ill-founded.

This is one side of the picture. There is, however, another side, which unfortunately takes deeper and clearer lines from increasing familiarity with the detailed working of this fair-proportioned scheme, that makes such a handsome figure in the Calcutta University Kalendar. But my first concern is to emphasise the fact that much has really been done ; that there has been an immense advance from 1835 to 1892 ; that higher education in India on English models is an established reality with very respectable pretensions. There has been a genuine success and progress, to which the advocates of English education and the promoters of the Calcutta University may appeal. There would seem, *primâ facie*, to be ample room for encouragement, for steady confidence, for hopeful persistence in the path marked out by the pioneers of English education. The success already achieved might fairly be thought to justify renewed and even larger effort, and a more assured direction of the eye towards the only goal with which a man endued with the smallest self-respect and but a feeble spark of intellectual ardour could rest satisfied for Indian Universities.

What that goal is, I will for a moment venture to consider. It supplies an altogether different standard by which to judge educational progress and gives a somewhat altered complexion to its

present record. Surely the only goal with which we shall be content, is the creation of an educated public of intellectual habits and tastes, in the same sense as there is an educated public in Europe or America, a public which is alive with all the intellectual activity of the age, which thinks, reads, criticises, speculates; whose intellectual chiefs represent the sum of attained knowledge in every department, and build new knowledge into the stately fabric of the old. This sum of knowledge and criticism taken collectively is the total achievement of the utmost effort of human thought from the dawn of reason till to-day. It is called the nineteenth century civilization, but it claims to be, and is, more than that; for it consists of the ripe fruits of laborious research and fearless pursuit of truth garnered as carefully as the restless perseverance of thinking mind has availed. It is the actual possession of certain favoured communities, or nations, in Europe and the New World, but potentially it is the possession of every tribe and nation upon whom the light of reason shines.

This sum of positive knowledge appeals for its renewed sanction to the individual human reason in every generation—it is the free inheritance of any who will understand, independently of race, or creed, or tradition. It is the summed-up total of human progress. In that progress knowledge has truly, as in the Hellenic torch-race, been handed on from band to band of runners. India once led in the race, but has long fallen behind and stood aside from the true onward line; has been shut out from the select brotherhood among whom the burning spark has been kept warm. Now, by a strange combination of external forces, she is drawn back within reach of the forward impetus; is compelled to take a still reluctant share in the onward sweep and movement of the times. Is she ever to do so by a real impulse from within? This is the momentous question which, when once it engages the attention, obscures every other question concerning the future of India. Surely the end and goal of our hopes and endeavours is to impart to India a share in this common heritage of human knowledge, to bestow on her children the freedom of that great intellectual commonwealth which is neither Eastern nor Western, European, Asiatic, or American, but of the world and of the human race. For, be it remembered once more, the education which English throws open to the natives of India is not English merely, nor European, though, by the accidents of time, it wears a Western garb;—it is education absolutely, knowledge, science, art, learning, philosophy, criticism, so far as the associated efforts of thinkers of all times have yet attained. The boon that is held out to the peoples of India is not partial or particular; it is catholic and cosmopolitan—nothing less than

the first fruits of human reason, set free, as far as possible, from bonds and trammels, purged from the accidental influences of place and time. It is knowledge for ignorance, clear vision for fantastic distortion of reality, truth for falsity, reason for unreason.

This, if we once fairly venture to face the question, is the only tolerable goal of English education in India. It involves the entrance of Indian thinkers into the recognised republic of learning and research; the vindication of a place for Indian Universities among the Universities of Europe and the New World; the production of savants and men of letters within the peninsula of Hindustan who shall take rank in the learned world of France, Germany, England and America. A difficult goal this no doubt—a goal so far off as to seem absurdly unpractical for every-day use; a goal in view of which our former substantial progress becomes, on a sudden, ludicrously shrivelled-up and insignificant. And yet it is the real and only possible goal, the only goal with which, if we reflect seriously and face our own convictions honestly, we should be content. It is, indeed, only the far-off possibility of this goal which saves this experiment in English education from being a meaningless anomaly, a ludicrous and undignified burlesque of the noblest of institutions and the highest of ideals.

And why should it be for ever impossible of attainment: not, it is true, in this generation or the next, but in some hundred or two hundred years' time, when the great-grandsons of the present generation of learners, or their great-grandsons, are studying in Government colleges? The negative would be hard to demonstrate. And even if that limit is too sanguine, will any one dare to say that it never can be possible. And, if some day possible, where is the need of hurry? Are Englishmen in India working only for to-day? Or, if *they* can see no further than the limits of Service rules, or the next general election, was it thus that their predecessors worked, who built up the framework of the British Rāj and made the organisation of English rule in India a model and a marvel for all time?

Now what, in face of these two contrary, but complementary, facts, the solid progress in the spread of English education and the immense progress yet to be achieved, do we find the general attitude of mind of Englishmen in India towards this education? What is the prevalent state of feeling, not doubtfully hinted, if not yet openly avowed, among those who represent the original founders and promoters of the movement at the present crisis, which, beneath the surface, is a real crisis and turning point in the future of India.

In the first place, nothing can be more striking than the singular want of faith in the established educational system, its

aims and its methods, exhibited by the Government which instituted it, the men who work it, and the English community at large who possess views on education, more or less intelligent. It is a fact to be lamented, but it is a fact nevertheless, that a disbelief both in the object with which English education was instituted, and in the means actually adopted to introduce and extend that education, is very widespread among Englishmen in India. Men do not, perhaps, publicly, on platforms and in newspapers, pronounce these unfavourable opinions, but in private and unguarded conversation they are often enough expressed, or implied. Strangest, or at least, most unfortunate of all, this disbelief seems to extend to the gentlemen engaged in carrying out those educational methods themselves. In fact, sometimes the whole apparatus of University degrees seems almost to be regarded as some huge farce, a gigantic make-believe, useful as a concession to the spirit of the age and a certain well-meaning native public opinion, which is flattered by the theory of advanced education, but otherwise an unmitigated public nuisance. Secondly, there can be no doubt that an impression prevails, that it is the intention of the Bengal Government, from this time forward, to enter gradually upon a policy of withdrawal from the support and control of higher education and leave the responsibility more and more to private liberality and enterprise. This idea has certainly gone abroad, and it is not without the support of a certain amount of circumstantial evidence. Now whether this intention, if it exists, may be taken as a supreme compliment at once to the English education and the Indian student, or as an indication of a kind of weariness in well-doing on the part of Government, is not at first quite apparent. For, while we hear a good deal of the enlightened interest in education felt by the rulers of India, and the duty and privilege of self-support in the matter of higher education, there are whispers, neither soft nor secret, of dissatisfaction with the ultimate product of the University system, of criticism of the Education Department, conceived in no sympathetic or benignant spirit. Judicious shearing of the higher grades of the Education Service, the cutting short of allowances to Government Schools and Colleges, retrenchment, economy, reduction, are in the air, if not already the fixed and settled policy on which the administration has embarked.

Has the time indeed come, or is it near at hand, when the Government, which started and nursed higher education in India, can begin to withdraw from the task and leave the future more and more to the natural development of the forces now set going? The question would be preposterous, were it not for the certain indications that such may even now be the policy adopted, or contemplated. Yet what does this mean? Has

enough, or too much, been done already? Must we indeed hold our hands, retrench, withdraw and leave things to take their course? In the name of all reason and unreason, where are the eyes that see the facts which justify this course? Where is the understanding that so reads them? A long, difficult, almost quixotic and impossible task has been taken in hand—it has been successfully begun and attains a fair degree of moderate success, enough to encourage further effort—not enough to foster complacency; not so little as to justify despair. And then it is proposed to relax the effort, to diminish the forces, already none too ample to cope successfully with the unwieldy growth of this, as of all, Anglo-Indian institutions, and so, by careful degrees, to retire and leave this promising scheme to sail happily down the stream of time—to what port?

University Education in India does not want fewer workers; but more—not a less expenditure of revenue, but the utmost that a reasonable economy can spare. For what single thing about it is there that can satisfy a moderately critical judgment? Is it the buildings? They are mostly incommodious and ill-adapted for their purpose. Is it the strength of the teaching staff? Some thirty odd Englishmen among eleven Colleges and one University, without reckoning the deduction for inspectorships of schools and furlough. Is it the appointments of the Colleges? They are wretched and inadequate. What single feature about the whole scheme (save and except only the University Kalendar) is there in which a discerning critic could find pleasure? For, take the only standard which the self-respect of a great empire can admit—the standard of Europe, of America, of Australia—and what sort of a figure does the University of Calcutta make?

Deprecate the application of the standard, if you will, in the case of a delicate and difficult experiment, under anomalous conditions, in an alien soil; but then renounce for many a long day the notion, that the needful work is done as far as extraneous help is concerned, and that Indian Universities are nearly able to shift for themselves. But, for the moment, dare to apply the standard, and see the naked and unpalliated verity. Judged by any universal standard, how does the University of Calcutta look? One simple test will suffice. That University conferred its B. A. degree last year on 231 candidates for the distinction. How many of these young men could be trusted, now or ten years hence, to give a thoughtful opinion on any one of the great questions in Literature, Science, or social theory, which agitate the mind of thinking men in any country worthy to be called civilized? It is a question that may be left to sober reflection. It is not put by way of disparagement of the material turned

out by the present University system. It may be the best possible under existing conditions. These Indian graduates are many of them intelligent, perhaps in some ways, as intelligent as their compeers in any other part of the world. But they lack the intellectual and moral stamina that can be given only by many generations of sturdy and independent thinking, healthy intellectual life in a healthy social atmosphere.

The mind of young India is in leading-strings; it, by all the laws of heredity, must remain in leading-strings, for many generations yet. The grand object of English education is to get it out of leading-strings, to create in India a class of men capable of thinking soundly for themselves, men who shall leaven the common lump of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and prejudice of which human society naturally consists, men who can look the world in the face, and understand the relation of the present to the past and the movement of the times. Until it achieves this on a modest scale, English education has not done its work; if it never achieves this, English education will have been a failure. But if this should ever be accomplished, the aim of the first founders of English education will have been attained, and then—and not till then—will it be possible to think of leaving the future of higher education to the enlightened opinion of Indian society. Soberly, at some yet far distant date, this might even at length come to pass, but assuredly, only by a steady perseverance in the efforts which have already been followed by so considerable a measure of success. If these efforts are discontinued too soon, or prematurely slackened, just as surely the whole attempt can issue in no good, either for India or the Empire.

The progress of English education in India has reached precisely that stage at which, least of all, should any strength or resources be withdrawn from it; the stage at which the toughest initial difficulties are overcome, and the hope of more brilliant results hovers up out of the mists as a possibility. Let it be remembered that, in this matter, the beginning is the supreme difficulty: *πλεῖον ἢ ἡμῖν παντος ἡ ἀρχή*. Dislike to learning English, prejudice against Western methods, are things of the past. Parents and guardians are not only willing, but eager, that their children should get a knowledge of English, are ambitious of giving them a chance of school and college distinction. Government Schools and Colleges are not only tolerated, but sought after. If there is no very marked appreciation of the value of a liberal education in and for itself, there is a very lively sense of the material advantages consequent upon the acquisition of certificates and degrees. A spirit of receptivity is abroad—a widespread readiness to take in, assimilate, and, as far as possible, turn to

advantage, such elements of Western culture as offer themselves, the state of mind of the star-fish, or the young ravens. Who shall say but what the active thirst after knowledge may follow in due time. At all events, it would seem that the present is a time rather for putting forth fresh effort than for relaxing effort, for extending, rather than contracting the existing organisation, for raising rather than lowering the standard of efficiency. At this stage, not to advance is to go back.

But if, as seems more probable, the reason of this apprehension of a change in the fortunes of education in Bengal is rather dissatisfaction than satisfaction, dissatisfaction at the visible effects of higher education, and distrust of its ultimate result, then the point of view must be shifted back, and we must rather think of what has been done already in the face of obstacles, than of what yet remains to do. Still more must the present be fairly faced in all its bearings. Followed to their logical conclusions, this distrust and dissatisfaction imply a conviction, that the whole project of leavening Indian society with Western ideas has been a mistake ; that the attempt to teach English, and, with it, and by its means, import knowledge and reason into India, ought never to have been made.

Now, whether this conviction is, or is not justly founded, is a point that need not be discussed. It is enough to notice that it is quite beside the present question. For higher education by means of English is at this time a rooted institution with a certain vogue, and would, probably, in some sort, go on still, if all Government countenance were withdrawn from it. The whole question is, whether that education is to be good, bad or indifferent ; the best that the concentrated resources of the State can make it, or as the drift of chance may rule. The decision in this matter was taken, once and for all, fifty years ago. There can be no going back now. To repine is vain, the question of expediency an anachronism. Whether we like it or not, the Calcutta University, the English-speaking graduate, the passed and failed Entrance student has got to be. But it is a practical and vital question whether the broader ideal of education imported into India is to prove a blessing or a curse. And whether the final verdict lean to good or evil, this much is abundantly clear, that the more thorough and efficient the education given, the less the curse, and the greater the blessing will be ; the more slipshod and superficial that education, the less the blessing and the greater the possible curse. The one hope alike for sceptic and believer is, in raising the efficiency of Government Colleges to the highest level possible, and so setting a standard below which, by the bare law of survival, private institutions may not greatly fall.

If this be so, it makes matters little which side of the alternative be taken, the side of hope, or the side of fear. In either case the moral is the same, the utmost Government can do will be too little. Government Colleges are still ill-provided for efficient working. The University of Calcutta is unendowed with a single professional chair. Everything is crude, imperfect, incomplete. The whole system shuffles along, from year to year, as best it can, with a certain show of order and seemliness, and, much to its credit, avoids any serious breakdown, but it is neither practically nor æsthetically admirable, complete and satisfactory in any single particular. Can it be that it is indeed seriously proposed to leave this system by degrees to private enterprise—that private enterprise which is even now with difficulty restrained from grave scandals—and to an enlightened public opinion which does not exist? Surely it is manifest that this charming notion has come to the birth some couple of centuries before its time.

I am speaking only of higher, or University education ; for it is that alone with which I am concerned. But, in so doing, I do not intend to ignore the possibly yet more important claims of general and technical education, nor of the other multifarious branches of Indian administration. I merely urge that, among these many and importunate claims, that of higher education should be given a fair consideration.

If it is to the credit of the Indian Empire that its railways, its prison system, its public works, should be, as far as possible, the best of their kind, surely it is to its credit likewise that its Colleges and Universities should be the best possible, too. Would it be tolerable that higher education should be the one department of State which is viewed with jealousy, and on which a moderate expenditure is grudged. Higher education is, perhaps, the one object of all others, concerning which a rigid economy is the worst economy, because its end can only be secured by going beyond the limits of the barely necessary. Then let the limit to the State support given to higher education, so sadly wanting, be the limit imposed by necessity, by the equally pressing claims of other objects, and the inelastic nature of the Exchequer. When all is done that can be, there will be still much lacking. And, even more than their solid support, higher education in India needs the sympathy and interest of Englishmen. Can it be that Englishmen in India have so little faith in themselves, in their own education and civilization, that they can doubt the beneficial effects, in the long run, of introducing into India, English methods of education and European science? The doubt is a treason to ourselves and our institutions, to knowledge and to truth itself. If light be better than darkness, knowledge than ignorance,

reasoned truth than blind superstition, then the work undertaken by the men who believed in the power of ideas to regenerate India was, of all works, the most noble and the most hopeful. It is we of this generation who are dim-sighted, hasty of judgment, incapable of seeing beyond the narrow limits of to-day, without faith that reaches further than next pay-day. Perhaps, after all, the event may justify the hopefulness of fifty years' ago, rather than the scepticism of to-day. It must, no doubt, be a work of time and patience, of long time and inexhaustible patience, before any striking success can be looked for ; but patience and perseverance are no new qualities to Englishmen in India. And if unconquerable patience and simple persistence in duty could be inspirited by an occasional glow of something warmer, the glow of enthusiasm and faith, it would be all the better : perhaps the wished-for end might come the sooner.

The responsibility for the consequences of English education in India rests at present with the Supreme Government, and cannot be lightly shifted without a grave liability. It is not a responsibility with which the present generation of administrators have been saddled by accident, but one which has been inherited ; which was assumed deliberately in the first instance, and which is handed down as an important trust. If the project miscarries, if the Calcutta University system should ever degenerate into a hollow and pretentious sham, a jumble of noisy incompetence and petty chicanery—and there are some who fear that something of this sort may happen—the shame will fall upon the Bengal Government, just as if the hopes of English education are destined to be realized, the success will redound to the everlasting glory of English administration.

It is a serious responsibility to risk the shipwreck of the most interesting psychological and ethical experiment ever made in the history of mankind. For, despite all ludicrous elements in the attempt to plant the knowledge of the West in this Eastern soil, it was a great and memorable work that was inaugurated by Lord Bentinck's Resolution in 1835—a work on which something more turns than clerkships in Government office and the prizes of the matrimonial lottery : no less a work than the intellectual, material and moral future of the Indian peoples. Is India capable of entering, in any real sense, upon the inheritance of modern civilization ? The final issue hangs in the balance. But if the hope of the affirmative answer, which, though too far away to be a prominent and present motive in the daily work of Englishmen in India, is yet glimmering in the distance, like a beacon through a rolling mist, caught at rare moments and then lost again,—

which, as a living ideal, really underlies, deep-down, the dull business routine of Anglo-Indian administration, though not often thought of, perhaps, and, when most distinctly conceived, too often felt to be mocking and delusive, from its very contrast with present realities—if this hope is ever to be brought nearer, one great engine in the transformation will be this contemned and flouted endeavour after the beginning of a liberal education.

And there is one further responsibility in the matter which was, perhaps, imperfectly understood at the time by those who undertook to spread the study of English in India—a responsibility to the English tongue. English, spoken and written, is spreading among the better educated in India. It is a matter of the utmost moment what manner of English this is to be. It is a significant fact that the desire to start English schooling early is gaining ground. A tendency may be observed at Colleges where English is taught, for the students to speak English among themselves. There are indications of a possible adoption of English as a tongue spoken bilingually along with Urdu or Bengali. There is a faint foreshadowing of the possibility of the growth of an English-speaking community among the natives of India itself. It is not altogether unlikely that English may one day become one of the indigenous forms of speech in India. But if there is only a remote possibility of such an eventuality, the kind of English acquired by students in English Schools and Colleges, becomes a matter of extreme importance. Is there not some fear that the English speech may suffer somewhat severely in the process—and how is the danger to be met? Already, not without reason, Babu English is a byword. The danger is real, and, perhaps, less distant than might be supposed. At all events, the alarm cannot be too early sounded. It will be well to use the utmost endeavours that the English emanating from Government Colleges and University examinations may be sound and good. This is a further reason, if more is needed, for jealously preserving, or rather steadily and perseveringly raising, the standard of higher English education in Bengal.

ART. VII.—MONISM.

The Monist. A Quarterly Magazine. Editor : Dr. Paul Carus. Associates : Edward C. Hegeler ; Mary Carus. Vol. I., Nos. 3 and 4, and Vol. II., Nos. 1 and 2, for April, July and October, 1891, and January, 1892. Chicago : The Open Court Publishing Company.

The Soul of Man : An Investigation of the Facts of Physiological and Experimental Psychology. By Dr. Paul Carus. Chicago : The Open Court Publishing Company.

THE belief in the conservation of energy is fatal to a purely materialistic conception of the universe. Consistently with it, we may, if we will, regard matter, not merely as an effect of force upon our consciousness under certain conditions, but as a distinct entity. But, if we do this, we are compelled, at the same time, to invest energy with a similar status. For, though we know of matter only as manifested through force, and of force only as manifested in matter, we are, at every moment of our conscious lives, witnesses of the transfer of force from one portion of matter to another.

On the surface of a billiard-table lies a ball at rest (at rest, that is to say, relatively to its immediate surroundings), and towards it, along the surface of the table, is moving a second ball, in such sort that, at the moment of impinging upon it, it is brought to a standstill, and the first ball begins to move. What has happened is that, of the force which, at the moment before the impact, was associated, in the form of molar motion, with the second ball, a portion (by far the greater portion) has become dissociated from it, and associated, in the same form—of molar motion,—with the first ball ; a second portion has also been dissociated from it and associated with the first-ball, but in another form—that of molecular motion, or heat,—while yet another portion, though not dissociated from the second ball, has also been converted from the molar, into the molecular form.

So far, we have been considering only the force which was associated, as molar motion, with the second ball at the moment of impact. But let us go further back. This was but a portion of the force that had been so associated with it at the moment when it started on its journey, the rest having been transferred, partly in the form of molar, and partly in that of molecular motion, to other bodies—immediately to the cloth and the surrounding air—, and part, again, having been converted into molecular motion in the substance of the ball itself and of other bodies.

Now let us go still further back. Where was all this force at the moment before the second ball started on its journey? Not in the ball at all, but stored up as energy in the muscles of the striker's body, from which we might, if it were necessary, trace it yet further back, to the blood, the chyle, the meat, the corn, and so on, and ultimately—ultimately, that is as far as our planetary system is concerned—to the sun.

Let us take, again, a body—say, a ball of copper—at rest. In the forces associated with it in this condition, it will, perhaps, be said, we, at all events, have a certain *quantum* of energy permanently belonging to it. Such, however, is very far from being the case. Bring into its neighbourhood another body, colder than itself, and immediately a part of this energy begins to pass away from it to the colder body in the form of molecular motion. Bring it into the neighbourhood of a body hotter than itself, and a transfer of energy, in the same kinetic form, in the opposite direction sets in; and a transfer of molecular motion is constantly going on, in this and other ways, from one body to another, throughout the universe. It may, indeed, be said that most of our knowledge of molecular motion is of something in process of distribution through what is conceived of by us as the material universe.

Not, in fact, till we come to what we regard hypothetically as the ultimate atoms of matter, do we obtain evidence of any *quantums* of energy which even seem to be permanently associated with particular portions of matter.

Now, though we are not logically compelled, by these facts, to regard matter as a distinct entity, inasmuch as it is still open to us to conceive of our hypothetical atoms as merely the effects on our consciousness of units of force, or systems of forces, which cannot be further resolved, we cannot logically, under the circumstances, so conceive of matter, without also conceiving of energy as another separate entity; and this necessity is quite independent of our attitude in respect of the nature of consciousness itself.

While, however, the progress of science has thus made a purely materialistic conception of the universe impossible, there is nevertheless a strong tendency, in recent philosophic thought, towards the adoption of a Monistic theory of the universe.

And what, it may, perhaps, be asked, is a Monistic theory of the universe?

Stated in the most general terms, it is that theory of the universe according to which all reality—*ego* and *non-ego*, mind and energy (or matter *cum* energy),—is essentially one. It accepts the separateness of the *ego*, only in the sense in which the part can be said to be separated from the rest with which it forms a whole, as differentiated, but not dissociated, from it.

As to the nature of this universal something which includes both *ego* and *non-ego*, and as to the relation between the *ego* and the *non-ego*, the views of leading Monists differ. According to that of Dr. Paul Carus, reality is a universal something which, on its objective side, is motion, and, on its subjective side, is feeling and "elements of feeling." To quote his own words: "Reality, as it exists in itself, may be conceived as a great interacting something, in which the effects of all the surrounding parts upon one special part, in so far as that part is concerned, appear as what we have defined as elements of feeling; while the effects of this special part . . . upon the rest, in so far as the totality is concerned, appear as motion." And elsewhere he says: "Matter and mind (the elements of feeling) are to be considered as one—not the same, but one. They are as inseparable as the two sides of a sheet of paper. If we look at it from the mind side, its activity represents itself as elements of feeling, and all kinds and degrees of actual feelings. If we look at it from the matter side, its activity represents itself as motions, or as all kinds of potential and kinetic energy."

Feeling, then, according to this view, is the subjective side of motion, or motions. But, it may be asked, of what motions? The answer is, of motions in the special portion of the universal something constituting the *ego* in which they are manifested.

To take an illustration: Before me lies a leaf. Associated with certain other feelings which, together with it, constitute all that I know immediately of the leaf, I have the feeling of greenness. Of what motions is this feeling, according to Dr. Carus, the subjective side? Not of the molecular motions in the substance of the leaf which—for the purpose in view—may be regarded as starting the series of motions that ultimately eventuate in the feeling of greenness; nor yet of the vibrations of the ether, which are conceived as taking up these motions and communicating them to my retinal nerves; nor yet, again, of the corresponding molecular motions set up in those nerves; but of the molecular motions set up by them in the substance of certain of my nerve-centres.

So, in the case of all the other feelings to which the something I have agreed to call a leaf gives rise. They are the subjective aspects of certain motions of my brain substance; and it is this group of associated feelings, which I project into space and determinately locate there, that constitutes what, for me, is the leaf, *quâ* my actual feelings at any given moment.

There are certain points in the above statement which may seem to challenge criticism, or to stand in need of explanation. Some of these will be referred to hereafter. In the meantime there is one which is seized upon by another Monist, Professor

Mach, that seems to indicate a radical difference of opinion between him and Dr. Carus, though one, the importance of which, the latter is disposed to minimise.

In the view of Professor Mach, then, the theory that feeling and motion are two sides, or aspects, of the same thing, is not a monistic, but a dualistic theory.

"Material processes," he says, "are not accompanied by feeling, but both are the same;" and, again: "They (motion and feeling) are not two sides of the same paper (which latter is invested with a metaphysical rôle in the simile), but simply the same thing."

According to his view, as I understand it, what is *given* is feeling, and nothing but feeling; and, when Dr. Carus speaks of motion as its objective side, he is merely translating certain feelings into the language of certain other feelings, or complexes of feeling. For what is given in motion, so-called, is merely a succession of the same, or substituted, feelings of a certain order, differently projected; and thus, while Professor Mach apparently accepts the *non-ego* as determining the modes of feeling of the *ego*, he denies that there is any warranty for conceiving of this *non-ego* as anything other than feeling.

Into the nature of the relation between the *ego* and the *non-ego*—between individual feeling, and the remainder of the universe of feeling of which it is a part, Professor Mach, in the papers before me, does not enter. But he probably would not maintain that the former, in any of its modes, actually corresponds with the latter in any of its modes, either quantitatively, or qualitatively. He would probably say, that the former stands in such relation to the latter, that it is determined by it; but that the resultant feeling is, *quâ* the *ego*, something *sui generis*.

It is by no means certain, however, that such is his view. For, in one passage of a paper on "Facts and Mental Symbols" in the *Monist* for January last, after stating his opinion that every physical notion is a definite connexion of certain sensory elements, and nothing else, he adds: "These elements—elements in the sense that no further resolution of them has for the present been effected—are the most ultimate building-stones of the physical world that we have yet been able to seize."

The latter expression is equivocal, and leaves it doubtful whether Professor Mach intends to affirm merely that these complexes of sensory elements are the ultimate building-stones of which *our conception* of the physical world is made up, or that they are the ultimate building-stones of the physical world itself. In the latter case, his position would seem to be indistinguishable from pure idealism, and there would appear to be no common ground on which an argument between him and Dr. Carus can be sustained.

The further explanation with which he concludes his paper, does very little to clear up the ambiguity. "The obscurity of the intellectual situation," he says, "has arisen, according to my conviction, solely from the transference of a physical prepossession into the domain of psychology. The physicist says: I find everywhere bodies and the motions of bodies only, no sensations; sensations, therefore, must be something entirely different from the physical objects I deal with. The physicist accepts the second portion of the declaration. To him, it is true, sensation is *given*; but there corresponds to it a mysterious physical something which, conformably to physical prepossession, must be different from sensation. But what is it that is the really mysterious thing? Is it the *Physis*, or the *Psyche*? or is it, perhaps, both? It would almost appear so, as it is now the one and now the other that is intangible. Or does the whole reasoning involved rest on a fallacious circle? I believe the latter is the case;" and he goes on to say that, for him, the sensory elements are immediately and indubitably given, and that it is their relations only that remain to be ascertained by investigation.

On the whole, we take it that Professor Mach, while maintaining that sensory elements and their complexes are all that are given in consciousness, does not intend to deny that they testify to the action upon the *ego* of a something which is not the *ego*; but merely to maintain (1) that that something is manifested as feeling, and feeling only, whether we call the mode of its manifestation greenness, or hotness and the like, or motion: and, (2), that we have no warranty for conceiving of it as actually anything but feeling.

In that case, it seems to me that, at least as regards the first of these positions, he has distinctly the best of the argument.

Dr. Carus says, in reply: "There is no duality of feeling and motion; both are different abstractions from the same reality. I do not say that feeling and motion are identical—nor that they are one and the same; but I do say that they are one. There is no such thing as pure feeling; real feeling is, at the same time, motion."

But this is to miss the point. Dr. Carus has identified feeling with subject, and motion with object; and it is this duplicism that Professor Mach calls in question. In his view, that which Dr. Carus calls feeling, and that which Dr. Carus calls motion, are equally identifiable with the subject; and it seems to us that the arguments on which this contention rests, are impregnable.

Dr. Carus returns to the subject in an article on the question: "Are there Things in themselves," in the January

number of the *Monist*; but, though much of what he says is indisputable, he says nothing that shakes, or even touches, Professor Mach's position. Indeed, in the following passage he goes very near to yielding the question: "Professor Mach, as well as myself," he says, "are aspiring to arrive at a consistent and harmonious, or unitary, world-conception. Both of us recognise that things in themselves have no room in a monistic philosophy, both of us recognise that concepts are means only of orientation, they are the mental tools of living beings developed as an assistance in dealing with the surrounding world. They are symbols in which the processes of nature are copied and imitated, and which can serve for planning, or modelling, and thus predetermining the course of nature. So far we agree, but then there appears a difference which it is difficult for me to understand or formulate in precise terms.

"Professor Mach objects to the dualism of motion and feeling, which he declares he conceives as a unity, not as a duality. But so do I. It appears to me that we must differ somehow in the method of constructing the unity. I see, indeed, a contrast of physical and of psychical. The contrast, however, in my conception, does not belong to the object, but to the subject. It is a contrast of our conception of things, but it is not a contrast existing objectively in the real things themselves. The world is not composed of the psychical and the physical, but certain features of the world are called physical, and others psychical. Both terms are abstracts."

But, though there is undoubtedly a contrast between feelings and motion, in the sense in which Dr. Carus employs the terms, it is a contrast, not between feeling and something that is not feeling, but between different orders of feeling; and, from this point of view, it is a misrepresentation of the ultimate aim of science, to say of it, as Dr. Carus says, that it is a description of natural phenomena, not in terms of sense elements, but in terms of form. The truth rather is, that the ultimate aim of science is a description of natural phenomena in the most highly generalised terms of sense elements and their complexes at which we can arrive, and terms of form are such highly generalised terms.

It might seem, at first sight, that Professor Mach's view, that we have, in the facts of consciousness, no warranty for the existence of any thing but feeling, was incompatible with the faculty of memory, on which our power of comparing and co-ordinating feelings, and consequently our sense of personal identity, depend. For, it may be argued, since feeling, as we are acquainted with it, is intermittent, it follows that, if there is nothing but feeling—no underlying something of which feeling is a function,—

then in the interval of non-feeling there is nothing at all; and, consequently, between actual and past states of feeling, there lies a gulf which there is no means of bridging; and the very building-up of the world (or of our concepts of the world) from sensory elements and their complexes, on which Professor Mach and those who think with him insist, becomes impossible.

The difficulty appears a formidable one; but, as will be shown hereafter, it is not insuperable.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that, while Dr. Carus' position rests upon a distinction which is fallacious, we are not justified in making anything more than a negative statement as to the nature of what it is that is manifested through feeling.

A mode of stating the case which attributes neither objectivity to motion, nor exhaustiveness to feeling, and which is compatible, as far as it goes, with the testimony of consciousness, would, perhaps, be: Reality may be conceived as a great interacting something in which the effects of all the rest upon the *ego* appear as feelings; what appears objective to the *ego* being, not that something, which is unknown and unknowable, but certain of those feelings and their complexes which are projected; while what is subjective to the *ego* consists of certain of those feelings and their complexes which are not projected.

This, of course, possesses no claim to be considered a complete statement, embracing all the facts of consciousness, for it includes no definition of the position to be assigned, in such a conception, to that part of the objective world which is associated constantly with certain of our subjective states as our body—a matter into which it would be impossible to enter here without unduly extending this paper.

We may, however, quote what Dr. Carus says regarding the relation of what we call our body to the rest of the universe, and also what he says regarding the projection of "objective facts."

The following passages on these subjects are from his work, *The Soul of Man*:—

"We distinguish between our body and external facts; but the boundary between both provinces is not distinct. There is constantly an exchange of substance taking place, proving that our body is in kind not different from the substance of which external facts consist. It must be regarded as a group of the same kind as external facts, existing in a constant interaction with and among the external facts. In other words, the body of the thinking subject is an object in the objective world."

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"The sense-impression of a white rectangle covered with little black characters is a given fact ; yet the aspect of a sheet of paper is an inferred fact. The former is a subjective state within ; the latter is the representation of an objective thing without. The process of representing is a function of the subject, but the fact represented is projected, as it were, into the objective world, where experience has taught us to expect it. And the practice of projection grows so naturally by inherited adaptation and repeated experience that the thing represented appears to us to be external. We no longer feel a sensation as a state of consciousness, but conceive it as an independent reality.

"The practice of projecting subjective sensations into the outside world is not an act of careless inference, but the inevitable result of a natural law. This natural law is that of the 'economy of labour.' When a blind man has undergone a successful operation, he will first have the consciousness of vague color-sensations taking place in his eye. Experience will teach him the meaning of these color-sensations, and his motions will inform him where to find the corresponding outside facts. His consciousness will more and more be concentrated upon the meaning of the sensations. The less difficulty he has in arriving at the proper interpretation, the more unconscious his sense-activity will become, and at length consciousness will be habitually attached to the result of the sensation alone, *i. e.*, to its interpretation."

It may conveniently be added that our conception of the physical world includes much more than projected feelings, and groups of feelings, and much more than can be said, strictly speaking, to be objective. When, for instance, we conceive of the Moon as a spherical body, we are associating with the projected feelings assigned to it, a conception which is derived from those feelings, taken along with others, by a ratiocinative process.

I have referred to certain peculiarities in Dr. Carus' mode of stating his position which seem to stand in need of explanation, or to be open to criticism from a Monistic point of view. Prominent among them is his use of such terms as 'matter' and 'substance,' which relatively to his use of the term 'motion' as one side of the universal something, seems dualistic. In speaking, however, of matter, Dr. Carus must be understood as intending nothing more than the form which, in virtue of motion, the universal something assumes as object.

Indeed, he himself says on this head :—

"Matter is an abstract, made in the same way as all other abstracts. Abstraction is a mental process. We abstract (we take away) in our thoughts from a number of things certain

properties which perhaps in reality are inseparably connected with other properties ; but in our thoughts we exclude all the other properties. We need not explain here the advantage of this method, which is undeniable, for abstract thought is the condition of all exact discriminations, and science would be impossible without it. Matter is generally defined as 'anything which can affect one or more of our five senses.'

"It is understood that all other properties, such as spirit, are excluded from the term matter. There are two properties which in reality are always inseparably connected with material things, yet in the term 'matter' they are not included ; viz., (1) motion, and (2) form. If I speak of the matter of an object, I limit my attention to the bodily particles of which it consists, and take no notice of their forms or of the relations that obtain among the particles, or of their motions. It is their quantity in mass, without reference to any one of their many other qualities. I cannot in reality separate matter from all form or from all motion. I can perhaps impart to a piece of matter more or less motion, I can destroy its present form. But it is impossible to take away every motion and every form. There is no such a thing in reality that would be matter *alone* : abstract matter, matter void of all motion and without any shape or form."

The fact is, existing language, having been modelled with reference to the requirements of a dualistic conception, does not at present afford, and probably never will afford, the means of describing the facts of consciousness, at once adequately and succinctly, in terms of a unitary conception of reality.

Another point in which, it seems to me, Dr. Carus' mode of stating the case is open to objection, is his use of the expression "elements of feeling," not in the sense of constituents, ultimate or other, of feeling, but in that of potentialities of feeling.

Or, rather, it would seem, he uses the expression partly in one sense and partly in the other, as denoting elements, which, though, under certain condition of combination, they result in feeling, are not in themselves actual feeling.

Thus, in his work, *The Soul of Man*, he says :—"Feelings must be considered as a complex of certain elements which we call 'The elements of feeling' Certain combinations of the elements of feeling produce actual feelings, just as certain combinations of feelings produce consciousness." And in his article, "Some Questions of Psycho-physics," in the *Monist* for April 1891, he says : "Motion is inseparable from feeling, but with the limitation that motions need not be, on their subjective side, actual feeling ; they may be only *elements of feeling* which, under certain conditions, become actual."

To make his position still clearer, he says in another part

of the same article: "Feeling, namely actual feeling, must be regarded as a special mode of action of the elements of feeling. If all that we can observe in motions, all that which the term motion comprises, constituting the objective changes taking place in nature, contains nothing of feeling, or of the elements of feeling, we must yet attach to every motion the presence of this element of feeling;" and again: "The elements of feeling should not be supposed to be feelings on a very small scale. The elements of feeling, for aught we know, are as much unlike actual feelings, as mechanical motion, or chemical dissolution, is unlike electricity."

Now, without going into the question whether this is an appropriate use of the term "elements," it seems to me that such a terminology, which, by the way, has the sanction of Professor Clifford, is inconvenient, inasmuch as it leaves us without any separate term for elements of feeling which are admittedly in themselves feelings—for the simplest units of actual feeling, that is to say, which go to make up more complex states of feeling.

As to the substantive proposition embodied in these statements, Dr. Carus, it will be observed, stops short of actually affirming that what he calls elements of feelings are not vague feelings, or "feelings on a very small scale," or something bearing a resemblance to the sense of "awareness," as we know it; and herein he is discreet. But his language plainly indicates a strong prepossession against the view that they bear any resemblance to feeling as we are acquainted with it.

The matter is one regarding which we are clearly not in a position to affirm or deny anything.

Our power of conceiving of feeling in anything outside us depends entirely on the extent of our ability to read into it our own subjective states; and this, again, depends upon the extent to which observation, or imagination, enables us to compare its re-actions with our own. Even in the case of animal nature, to which most of us attribute feeling, the power to realise its character is strictly limited to the extent to which we can put ourselves in its place. It shades away gradually, from quite a respectable *quantum* in the case of—say—the dog, or the horse, to a vanishing quantity in that of the lowest orders of animals. But we are not justified in denying all resemblance, merely on account of this defect of our imagination; and the conclusion most consistent with the theory of evolution would seem to be, not merely that, as Professor Lloyd Morgan is disposed to hold, there is no *kinesis* unaccompanied by its subjective, metakinetic aspect, but that this *metakinesis*, whether we choose to call it "elements of feeling," or, as Professor Lloyd Morgan calls it, "infra-con-

sciousness," agrees with feeling as we know it, in something in which all our states of feeling agree with one another.

"For those," says Professor Lloyd Morgan, in an article on "Mental Evolution," in the *Monist* for January last, "who believe that the organic has arisen on this earth by process of natural development from the inorganic, the hypothesis must be more sweeping in its range. We must say that all modes of energy of whatever kind, whether organic or inorganic, have their conscious, or infra-conscious, aspect. Startling as this may sound, there is, I believe, no other logical conclusion possible for the evolutionist *pur sang*. For where are we to draw the line? The states of consciousness of the higher animals have been evolved from lower forms of infra-consciousness in the amœba-like, or yet more simple protoplasmic, germs, in the dawn of life. But if those low forms of organic infra-consciousness were themselves evolved, from what could they arise if they were not developed from yet more lowly forms of infra-consciousness, similar in kind, but inferior in degree, associated with inorganic transformations of energy? In any case it is here submitted that this doctrine, that infra-consciousness is associated with *all* forms of energy, is necessarily implied in the phrase mental evolution for all thinkers who have grasped the distinction between consciousness and energy. And if this be admitted, there is disclosed, by implication, an answer behind and beyond that ordinarily given to a question which has again and again been asked—the question:—Is there a conservation of consciousness analogous to the conservation of energy? The negative answer generally given to this question results from the fact that the question itself has always been put in a form which does not admit of a satisfactory solution. There is not a conservation of consciousness, any more than there is a conservation of neural energy, or a conservation of electricity. There is no conservation of neural energy, because this is only one mode of energy, which may be transformed into other modes. Not until we have generalised energy, so as to include *all* its modes, can we speak of conservation in reference to it. So, too, not until we have generalised that universal form of existence of which consciousness is only the highest and most developed mode, so as to include all its modes, can we speak of conservation in reference to it. But, so generalised, I submit that there is a conservation of that form of existence which includes both consciousness and infra-consciousness, co-ordinate and co-extensive with the conservation of energy."

For those who accept the conservation of feeling, in the above sense, the difficulty, already referred to, which its intermittent character, would otherwise place in the way of the

theory that there is nothing but feeling, obviously vanishes. They are, in fact, in a position to dispense altogether with the notion of a physical *kinesis*, which is not given in consciousness. For, on the assumption that the complex states of feeling of which alone we have any experience, are the results of temporary combinations of inter-acting units of feeling which pre-existed, and which persist after their resolution, all that is required to serve as a basis for memory and the various mental processes which involve memory, is that these units should be so far plastic as to be modified by each act of combination, in such sort that the state of feeling resulting from their next similar combination is no longer a mere repetition of the former complex state of feeling, but of that state plus an element of recognition.

Thus, let the symbol A, B, C , represent separate units of infra-consciousness which, as long as they remain uncombined, are not manifested as actual feeling in our consciousness, but the result of the combination of which is the complex state of feeling $A^B C$. When $A^B C$ is resolved, our consciousness again becomes a blank as regards these particular units. The units themselves, on the other hand, persist. They are no longer, however, merely A, B, C , but—say— bAc, aBc, aCb , in which $b c$ represents the modification produced in A by its past combination with B and C ; $a c$ represents the modification produced in B by its past combination with A and C , and so on. When the units recombine, they yield, not the former complex state of feeling $A^B C$, but the complex bAc^aBc^aCb —being the former complex plus the element of recognition.

This is no violent supposition. It is merely a statement, *mutatis mutandis*, of what is recognised by physicists as happening in the case of the physical units of organised substance, of which they regard memory as a function. In saying that each element of feeling is "the summation of its history from the beginning;" that each modification arising in it from its reaction against other elements of feeling is faithfully preserved, at least for a length of time sufficient to furnish a basis for all the phenomena of memory as we are acquainted with it, we should be merely applying to it what Professor Hering has demonstrated to hold good regarding all organic substance.

THE EDITOR.

ART. VIII.—THE BENGAL CIVIL LIST—JANUARY 1892.

THE *Quarterly Bengal Civil List* is an interesting and important official publication, wherein one may, as it were, feel the pulse of the *personnel* of the Administration of Bengal. Its regular appearance every three months is a source of relief to the young official, who is enabled, from the information unfolded in its pages, to calculate when some old officer, who is sticking to the Service like a parasite on an ancient oak, will be compelled to retire, and when his own turn will come for promotion. It is not unusual to find, in the office copies of this publication, instances of the prophesying faculty of the young civilian. After the hard day's work, when he sinks into his cane lounge for the rest he has so well deserved, his prophetic soul surveys, with visible joy, the names he thinks doomed to early destruction, and sometimes pencil marks are to be found run through them. Readers of the *Review* will feel interested, I believe, if I place some facts and figures before them, gleaned from this Book of books.

The January Number made its appearance with the regularity characteristic of it. Here, and probably in a few of its predecessors, one finds some decided improvements. Thus, we have :—

(a.)—*List of Casualties in Quarter.*

This forms a very useful feature of the publication. It shows, at a glance, how many men retired, and how many died, during the past quarter, and their names are also given. Probably it helps the hankerer after promotion to guess how many casualties may occur during the current quarter.

(b.)—*List of Bengal Civilians serving under other Governments or Administrations.*

This enables one to see what amount of the patronage of the Supreme Government of India is enjoyed by Bengal Civilians at a particular time. There are some names in the *List* which cannot be passed over without a word of remark. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, who is as low in the list as 83rd, having come out in 1872, occupies the important post of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. His compeers in the Service are working as Second Grade Magistrates, or Second Grade Judges. The case of Mr. Finlay, Financial Secretary to the Government of India, who hails from the North-West Provinces Branch of the Civil Service of India, and who came out in 1875, furnishes another instance of rapid promotion—with this little difference, however, that Mr. Finlay became Financial Secretary after 15 years' service, whereas Sir Henry

Durand was entrusted with the portfolio of the Foreign Department after only 11 years' service. In these cases promotion has not been "by old gradation," when "each second stood heir to the first," nor "by letter and affection," but by sheer dint of ability; and the seniors to these gentlemen have, therefore, not much cause to complain. In the case of Mr. Finlay it was ability *plus* chance; for, if Mr. Sinkinson had not died at an early age, Mr. Finlay could not have been Financial Secretary. Another instance of rapid promotion is that of the Hon'ble Sir David Barbour. It seems but the other day that he was plain Mr. H. M. Barbour, Joint Magistrate of Patna, when the notorious Wahabee affair was brought to light. Mr. A. P. Macdonnell and Sir Alexander Mackenzie also afford instances of rapid promotion.

(c.)—*Strength of the Bengal Provincial Cadre.*

For the enlightenment of my readers I reproduce the list here :—

How employed.	No. sanctioned by the Government of India in 1881.	No. on 1st January 1892.
Administration	21	22
Districts	45	45
Sub-Divisional Charges	45	43
Judges... ..	30	30
High Court Judges and Judicial Commissioners	6	6
General	17	10
Employed under the Government of India ...	10	18
Total ..	174	183
In training, first and second year ...	19	23
Leave	47	17
Total ...	240	223
Civil Servants on the List	243	
Statutory Civilians	14	

(d.)—*Settlement and other Appointments, given District by District.*

(e.)—*Managers, Sub-Managers, and Assistant Managers and Tahsildars of Government Estates.*

(f.)—*Managers and Assistant Managers of Wards' Estates.*

(g.)—*List of Officers employed on Land Acquisition work.*

All these innovations are to be attributed to the careful and observant eye of the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who is accredited with the desire and the power to see for himself into the minutest details of the administration. From the highest State matters down to the humble *Civil*

List, everything seems to have the personal attention of Sir Charles. The Board's circulars, the bye-laws of a municipality, or the system of keeping accounts on "trust" estates,—everything bears the imprint of His Honor's insight and mastery of detail. If original theories have now and again been inculcated by his Secretaries in his name, the fault, if it was a fault at all, was probably theirs, and not his. I believe it was Mr. Secretary Buckland who, some months ago, in an open Resolution in the *Calcutta Gazette*, to all intents and purposes a serious Resolution, held that trees and plants which Nature had not intended for a particular country, should not, by any artificial means, be acclimatised in that country! Probably Mr. Buckland forgot all about the potato, the tea, the chinchona, and a variety of other plants that have been acclimatised in so many countries and have thriven so well, contributing not a little to their wealth. There is yet another instance of Sir Charles Elliott's love of detail—I was almost going to say, of trifles—unfolded in the pages of the new *Civil List*. Till recently, it has always been the custom, in the pages of the *Civil List* at least, to treat the Native Members of the Civil Service precisely as their European brethren, even as regards little trifles. It was left to Sir Charles Elliott, however, to make a slight departure from this time-honored custom which had received the silent sanction of his predecessors. In places where only the initials and the surname of the European Civilians are given, the long names of their Indian brethren are given in full, evidently to mark them out as interlopers, as if the surname only were not sufficient indication of the facts; and yet,

"What's in a name? That which we call a rose,
"By any other name would smell as sweet."

The people who are thus affected in the *Civil List* do not, of course, mind it at all; and accepting the fact that there is nothing in a name, why should such trivial matters, as the spelling of a name, or the use, or non-use, of the first names in full, though it might well be left to individual tastes and idiosyncracies, ruffle their equanimity? On the other hand, if it is vanity, pure and simple, that makes the Baboo Civilian cling to his somewhat anglicised short names, even then, I think, his whim of vanity, or whatever it is, should be respected. For a man must be called by the name he calls himself by, and not by any other which popular opinion may assign to him. "Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt," and "Mr. Krishna Govinda Gupta" not only sound somewhat odd, but are positively ridiculous. For, if "Mr.," why "Romesh Chunder Dutt?" And if "Romesh Chunder Dutt," why "Mr." and not Babu? Why not Mr. Henry Arthur Deuterios Phillips as well? Over

and above all these considerations, what with the many and multifarious duties and responsibilities of life, it is getting too short, day by day, for printer's ink and energy to be wasted in unnecessarily spelling long names when the short ones convey the same meaning.

I will now point out some anomalies and mistakes. Mr. Reily is dubbed Assistant Secretary in the Legislative Department. There is no Legislative Secretary, as far as I am aware, to whom he may be Assistant. The Chief Secretary has the Judicial, Political and Appointment Departments; there is a Secretary for the General, Revenue, and Statistical Departments; and there is a third Secretary for the Financial and Municipal Departments. Who, then, is the Secretary in the Legislative Department?

I find that Angul, in Orissa, has been made into a District. Evidently the District is governed without the help of the Police, for there is no District Superintendent of Police there. Is there no District Superintendent of Police at Nuddea also? The Distribution List by Districts does not show one. Rai Nund Kishore Das has been made Magistrate and Collector of Angul; yet his name is not included in the list of Magistrates and Collectors. Purneah is a District where there is no Civil Surgeon.

There are 8 Commissioners in the Regulation Divisions, 15 Magistrates and Collectors, 1st grade, and Mr. Finucane, whose position in the Service seems to be somewhat equivocal. There are 16 Magistrates in the 2nd grade and 7 in the 3rd grade. The Joints are 23 in the 1st grade and 12 in the 2nd grade. Among the Assistants, there are 45 who have passed the 2nd standard of examination, 19 who have passed only the 1st, and 11 who have yet to pass.

In the Non-Regulation Districts there are 1 Commissioner, 1 Judicial Commissioner, 2 Deputy-Commissioners 1st grade, 2 2nd grade, and 3 3rd grade. We have seen, from the *List* giving the strength of the Bengal Cadre, that there are 45 officers in executive charge of Districts—meaning that there are 45 Districts in the whole province of Bengal. We find that there are 38 Magistrates and Collectors and 7 Deputy Commissioners. This gives us 45 District officers, and adding him of Angul, not yet classified in any list, we have 46. Of these, 45 are in charge of the 45 Districts, and one is the Customs Collector of Calcutta.

Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors.

The pay ranges from 800 in the 1st grade to 250 in the 7th grade, and there is an officiating grade of which the pay is Rs. 200. There are in all 317 Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, of whom 32 are on deputation, working in various

capacities not directly connected with revenue or criminal work. There are 16 Probationers on Rs. 50 a month, who will be appointed Officiating Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors as vacancies occur. Besides these, there are 26 Special Deputy Collectors employed on Butwarra and other work. The lowest gazetted unit in the Subordinate Executive Service is the Sub-Deputy Collector, who is classified in four grades—pay ranging from Rs. 200 in the 1st grade to Rs. 100 in the 4th. There are 224 Sub-Deputy Collectors, among whom the names of 144 are given in *italics*. These are the officers who are employed on special work. There are 6 Special Sub-Deputies appointed for temporary periods, and 9 Probationers drawing Rs. 30 a month, who will be appointed Sub-Deputies as vacancies occur. I find that there are also 9 Tahsildars.

Some reflections regarding the system of recruiting men for the Subordinate Executive Service may not be out of place here.

The system of examination was first introduced by Sir Rivers Thompson in 1884. All the appointments, however, were not thrown open to competition; and in one year there was no examination at all. It is inevitable, I think, that Government should have some appointments in its gift, otherwise the "backward" races will suffer. It is not my object here to discuss the wisdom of this policy. What I would point out is, that, whatever policy is adopted, there should be uniformity in it. Are the best men among those who cannot enter the Service by the door of competition, always selected as the protégés of Government? The Government is evidently aware that such is not the case, though it sometimes lacks the courage to perpetrate jobberies without some attempt at concealment. Last year two appointments were made under the following very curious notification in the *Gazette*:—

Messrs.——, who *appeared* at the recent Provincial Service examination, are appointed to be Officiating Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors.

The *italics* are mine. That was the first time that the term Provincial Service examination was used in the *Gazette*. The public probably thought that it was some examination which had nothing to do with the Deputy Magistrateship examination, and, of course, there was no agitation in the Press. The Government of Bengal ought certainly to have had the courage to appoint Messrs.—— openly to the Subordinate Executive Service, without, as it were, smuggling them into it. If they did not come out successful at the examination, what mattered it to the public, or to the Government, whether they appeared at it or not? The notification almost implies that the fact of their having appeared at the examination qualifies them for

admission into the Service. Either the Government must acknowledge this construction, or confess that it was not actuated by the best of motives in making use of that somewhat queer adjective phrase. It has always been a matter of wonder to me, that, in a constitutional despotism like the Government of India, where public opinion is oftener ignored than not, the bureaucracy should, at times, betray visible shrinking in perpetrating acts which it knows cannot be popular. If it is so deaf to the cries of the Press, why anxious, at the same time, to blindfold it? The usual procedure in filling-up vacancies in the grade of Deputy Magistrates, is to put up a certain fixed number to competition, reserving a certain number, generally three, for eligible Sub-Deputies, and keeping the unestimated balance for the "dowbs." It would be doing greater justice to our young men, if Government reserved a certain fixed number, say 3 every year, for nomination, 3 for Sub-Deputies, and left the rest for competition-wallahs.

Twenty-five is the limit of age for the examination; but I am afraid careful enquiries are not made in every case to find out whether a candidate is really 24 years' old, or much older. It may be unpatriotic to acknowledge it, but the interests of truth and justice oblige me to observe, that there are some, even among those who have obtained University honours and distinctions, who would not consider it a heinous offence to deceive the Government in respect of their age. In their Ethical Code the end justifies the means. The casuistry by which they explain their conduct is, that, if the Presidency Surgeon who gives them their certificate of health, certifies that they are below a certain age, it is not their duty to go and tell the Government that the Doctor's guess was incorrect. Government should insist on having as conclusive evidence of age as possible. Horoscopes are not reliable.

The arrangement of the Services, according to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, since sanctioned by the Secretary of State, has not yet been carried out. It would be a decided move in the right direction, if the Judicial and Executive Branches of the Subordinate Civil Service were blended in one. This Service may be thrown open to competition, reserving a certain number of appointments, if necessary, for nomination by Government, the selected candidates being made to work on probation, either in the Judicial, or in the Executive Branch, as they choose. Indeed, I do not know why there cannot be, like the Covenanted Civil Service, an Uncovenanted Service Cadre, in which all the Provincial Departments, the Educational, the Opium, the Police, and others, might be blended. Such an arrangement would create a kindly feeling between officers of different departments.

In the Excise Department there are a Commissioner, a Personal Assistant, 2 Inspectors, 18 Deputy-Collectors and 15 Superintendents of Distilleries.

The Customs Department seems to be a preserve for Europeans and Eurasians. There are a Superintendent on Rs. 1,000, and two Inspectors. There are 134 Preventive Officers on rates of pay ranging from Rs. 100 to 300, and, strange as it may seem, it is a fact that of these 137 officers, *not one is a Native of India* (Eurasians are not Natives by their own interpretation of the term). I am not aware of there being any rule that prevents Natives from entering the Customs Department; nor, on the other hand, am I aware of there being anything in their character or education that disqualifies them for the Service.

I come now to the Opium Department, which, till recently, was another close preserve for Europeans. There are 2 Agents, 2 Factory Superintendents, 27 Sub-Deputy Opium Agents, 42 Assistant Sub-Deputy Opium Agents, and 4 Probationers. The Government of India, on an agitation being raised in the columns of the *Statesman* about it, ruled, in 1885, that one appointment in four was thenceforth to be given to a Native of India. There are now 5 Native Gentlemen in the Opium Department,—of whom one got into it because he was a "born rider;" one because he was the son-in-law of somebody; and one because he was somebody's brother-in-law. Although the Opium Department does not require much brains, yet if men with brains can be had, they should be preferred to those who are brainless. The selection has not in most cases been very good, and all praise is due to Sir Charles Elliott for introducing a competitive examination for recruitment of Natives to the Opium Department.

We come now to the Judicial Branch of the Civil Service. There are 15 District and Sessions Judges in the 1st grade, and 15 in the 2nd grade. There are 52 Small Cause Court and Subordinate Judges, 235 Munsiffs, and 86 Officiating Munsiffs. I have already alluded to the desirability of blending the Subordinate Judicial and Executive Services into one large Service. The Munsiffs are about the most hardworked class of officials in Bengal. And yet His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, while inspecting a Munsiff's Court, is said to have remarked that his work was not killing, as if, unless work were killing, it would not be any work at all. The Munsiff is a very careful and punctilious sort of a creature. His conscience is generally of a pure and unadulterated metal that will not easily tarnish, and if he is careful with his conscience, he is much more so with his money. The parsimoniousness of the Munsiff has almost become proverbial. He draws double

first or double second class travelling allowance from Government but travels in third or intermediate class.

In the Registration Department there are one Inspector-General, 2 Inspectors, 1 Registrar for Calcutta, 1 for Howrah, 31 Special Sub-Registrars, paid partly by salary and partly by fees, 19 Sub-Registrars in Sub-Divisions and Cantonments holding other offices and paid by commission, and 277 Rural Sub-Registrars, paid by fees. The Rural Sub-Registrar is about the only Government official from whom scarcely any ability is expected, and his work is the easiest of all. I know of an instance in which a man was recommended for a Rural Sub-Registrarship as being a good chess player. These appointments are usually given to retired Government servants as further recognition of their past services. It is said there are so many names now on the list of candidates in the Inspector-General's office, that they would more than suffice to fill-up all vacancies likely to occur in the present century.

I come now to the Police Department, another preserve for Europeans. There are an Inspector-General, 2 Deputies, 49 District Superintendents of Police, and 49 Assistants. There are only three Natives in the whole Department, of whom two are District Superintendents of Police, and one is an Assistant. Why not, as in the Opium Department, reserve one-fourth of the appointment for Natives of India?

In the Education Department there are a Director, 2 first class officers, 6 second class, 11 third class, and 19 fourth class; of these 19, six are always kept vacant. I do not know why. There is, besides, a special list of 27 officers. This special list was probably created to give a sort of supernumerary rank to the favourites of the Director.

In Calcutta there are 94 Honorary Magistrates and in the Mofussil 2,093. With so many Honorary Magistrates the criminal work of the Stipendiary Magistrates should be lighter than it is at present. There are Honorary Magistrates with 1st class powers, too, so that there need be no difficulty in making over cases to them. Men who have been trusted with 1st class powers ought certainly to be trusted with cases, too.

In the town of Calcutta there are 35 Justices of the Peace. In the Mofussil every European official, and almost every other European British subject, is a Justice of the Peace. The Civilian Justices of the Peace have *J. P.* put against their names, but the Bengali Civilians, who are working as District Magistrates and District Judges, are not so distinguished from others, though by Act III of 1884 (the Ilbert Bill Concordat) they are all Justices of the Peace.

I subjoin a tabular statement showing the number of Districts, Sub-Divisions, Thanas, Munsiffes, and Municipalities in Bengal.

RUSTUM PACHA.

Divisions.	Districts.	Sub-Divisions.	Thanas.	Munsiffes.	Municipalities.
Burdwan ...	6	17	82	33	25
Presidency ...	5	23	123	24	37
Rajshahye ...	7	13	74	20	11
Dacca ...	4	16	61	24	16
Chittagong ...	3	9	33	22	5
Patna ...	7	23	82	19	25
Bhagulpore ...	4	16	58	12	11
Cuttack ...	4	7	25	5	5
Chota Nagpore ...	5	6	56	8	9
Total for Bengal ...	45	130	594	167	144

ART. IX.—MRS. CROKER'S NOVELS.

WHILE there can be few diligent readers of recent English fiction who are unacquainted with Mrs. B. M. Croker's clever stories, it is probably not one in a hundred of her admirers, even in this country, who recognises her as an Anglo-Indian novelist.

It is due partly, perhaps, to the fluctuating state of English society in this country, and its consequent want of solidarity, but more largely, it may be suspected, to accident, that Anglo-Indians have laid no claim to an author who, to say nothing of shorter stories, has published seven novels of regulation length, most, if not all of which have gone through many editions; who has won for herself a much more than respectable rank among writers of contemporary fiction, and whose literary work has, if we are not mistaken, been done entirely in India. But, whatever its explanation may be, the fact is a remarkable one; and it is the more remarkable, that most of Mrs. Croker's plots are laid, wholly or partly, in India, and that she has done probably more than any single writer of fiction, living or dead, to familiarise English readers with the facts of Anglo-Indian life.

It is true that, unlike some other writers who have occupied themselves with that life, she has found it enough for the purposes of her art to paint things very much as she has found them, without either malice or extenuation. There is consequently little or nothing in her pages either to cause the heathen to blaspheme, or to gratify the passion for sensationalism; and as, at the same time, she is unconcerned with great social or political problems, and troubles herself as little as may be about the whence or the whither of things, she is not liable to be perpetually called into the witness-box by those who have sermons to preach or theories to advocate. But we are anticipating.

Mrs. Croker's first novel was "Proper Pride," which was published, in 1882, by Messrs. Tinsley and Co., and is, we believe, in its tenth edition; and her latest is "Interference," which, after appearing serially in this country, was published in England, last year, by Messrs. F. V. White and Co. Immediately, she has published "Pretty Miss Neville," now in its tenth edition, through Messrs. Tinsley and Co.; "Someone Else," now in its sixth edition, through Messrs. Sampson, Low and Co., in 1885; "A Bird of Passage," which has reached its eighth edition, through the same firm; "Diana Barrington," now in its eighth edition, through Messrs. Ward and Downey, and "Two Masters," also in its eighth edition, through Messrs. White and Co., in 1890.

Among these novels, "Pretty Miss Neville," "Diana Barrington" and "Interference," rank, from a literary point of view, distinctly above the rest; and it is upon them—along with "A Bird of Passage," which, though, in some respects, a work of inferior merit to those just named, possesses features of special interest—that our remarks will be chiefly based.

The plot of "Pretty Miss Neville," if it deserves the name, is of the slightest, and may be briefly sketched.

Nora O'Neill, an orphan and out-and-out tom-boy, lives with her grandfather, who, in order to secure to her some share in his Irish property, which is strictly entailed, extracts a promise from her cousin Maurice Beresford, the heir, that he will marry her before she is twenty, she being fifteen at the time of the engagement.

Maurice, who is seven years Nora's senior, regards her in the light of a child, destitute not only of manners but of looks, and is by no means pleased with the arrangement, or sanguine as to his prospects of matrimonial happiness.

He leaves Ireland to join his regiment in India, while Nora's grandfather dies, and she is left under the guardianship of the clergyman of the village. For a time things go on smoothly, till one day her governess, in a fit of temper, discloses to her the fact that she is really a pauper, living on the liberality of her cousin, who has been made to promise to marry her against his will.

Her pride rebels against the idea of marrying Maurice under such conditions, and, after a stormy interview with her guardian, she determines to take matters into her own hands, and, by leaving her home without giving any clue as to her whereabouts, to free her cousin from the objectionable bond. She bethinks herself of an aunt in India who has sent her more than one invitation to go out to her, and she speedily makes up her mind, not only to start by an early steamer and make her home with her, but also to adopt her name.

Arrived in India she finds herself, to her great surprise, the belle of the small station of Mulkapore, and, in due course, she becomes engaged to Major Percival, a man much older than herself, and with whom she is not in love.

Shortly afterwards Maurice Beresford, who is in the Royal Artillery, comes upon the scene, and takes all hearts, including Nora's, by storm. She, of course, recognises him as her discarded fiancé; but he sees in "Pretty Miss Neville" no trace of his erstwhile ugly and ill-mannered cousin, till, on the occasion of a pic-nic, someone questions her so closely as to her exact relationship to the Nevilles that she betrays herself and stands confessed, Nora O'Neill, of Gallow. Maurice, who is already deeply in love with her, claims her as his

betrothed, only to learn, to his surprise and indignation, that she is already engaged to someone else.

Her wedding day draws near, and her trousseau and all other preparations are made, when Major Percival, who is an outrageous flirt, commits the tremendous blunder of putting a letter into a wrong envelope, thus sending to Nora a note intended for a married woman in the station. Her eyes are opened, and, to the great relief of everyone who has her happiness at heart, she summarily dismisses her intended husband, leaving Maurice free to renew his suit, which, after sundry complications, he does, this time with success.

"Diana Barrington," the scene of which lies entirely in India, is more elaborately constructed.

Diana Barrington, whose mother is believed by her to have died when she was an infant, lives, and has lived, as long as she can remember, with her father and a faithful old Irish woman servant, in a lonely bungalow at Paldi, in Central India, on the banks of the Karhan, a life of such absolute seclusion, that, though she can shoot and ride, and knows every tree and plant around her, she has never seen an English lady, or any other Englishman, except Father Paul, an old priest who occasionally visits Mr. Barrington.

A party of officers from Gurrumpore—Colonel Raitt, Captain Fitzroy and Mr. Hare—come to the neighbourhood, on a shooting expedition. Captain Fitzroy, who has left the other members of the party for the purpose of seeing the sacred lake at Ram Tek, comes, by chance upon Diana, seated in the porch of one of the temples, where she is waiting for her father, who is interviewing the Chief Priest. On rejoining his party, Captain Fitzroy introduces them to Diana; and she, in her turn, introduces them to her father, who discovers in Colonel Raitt an old school-fellow. The natural result is an invitation to put up at Mr. Barrington's bungalow, where they stay some days.

This *rencontre* is followed, after an interval, by a pressing invitation from Mrs. Raitt for Diana to go and stay with them at Gurrumpore. At first her father, who dreads the idea of being separated from his daughter, will not hear of her accepting this; but finally he gives his consent.

The *contretemps* that are apt to arise from the sudden introduction of ignorant innocence into the world of fashion have furnished the subject for some of the liveliest passages both of drama and of fiction. Gurrumpore society was not exactly that of Mayfair, but it was equally artificial and quite as frivolous, and Mrs. Croker handles the situation with a poignant humour. The first effect on Diana is disillusion, and she has hardly been in the place twenty-four hours before

discovering that she is a common laughing-stock, she makes up her mind in disgust to return to Paldi. But she is dissuaded, and ultimately becomes more than reconciled to her new life.

What, however, is of more importance to the plot of the story, Captain Fitzroy, who had really been smitten with her at first sight, makes love to her, and, after a serious misunderstanding, created by the misrepresentations of a false friend and insatiable married flirt, is accepted by her.

She despairs of her father's consenting to the match ; but, in the very moment of her triumph, comes the news of his serious illness, and she returns, at ten minutes' notice, to Paldi only to receive his dying blessing, and to be consigned, by him, to the care of Captain Fitzroy, who has followed her.

After their marriage, Captain Fitzroy and Diana visit Europe ; and then, returning to India, they are stationed at Sindi, which may, presumably, be identified with Karachi, and here it is that the catastrophe of the story occurs.

Prominent among the leaders of Sindi society is a certain Mrs. Vavasour, wife of the Honourable Lawrence Vavasour, of the Paddy Field Department, about whom there are ugly whispers, and who strikes up, what Captain Fitzroy pronounces, a too close intimacy with Diana ; and among her associates is a Colonel Hassard, a man with an unpleasant reputation, who also attaches himself to Diana, much to her husband's dissatisfaction, and who discovers himself to be a cousin of hers.

Among Diana's belongings is a diamond necklace of immense value and unique brilliancy and workmanship, which had been a present to her from her father ; and on one occasion, when, wearing this, she meets Mrs. Vavasour, who is about to accompany her to a ball. The latter, on seeing the necklace and being told from whom she had obtained it, faints. After that Mrs. Vavasour treats her with unwonted coolness, and Captain Fitzroy insist upon her "dropping" that lady.

Not long afterwards, while Diana is seated alone, late at night, in her bungalow, Mrs. Vavasour suddenly appears on the scene ; tells her that she has a secret to impart to her, and, after terrifying her into swearing on the Testament not to divulge what she is about to say, discloses the fact that she is her mother, who had been divorced from Mr. Barrington twenty years before.

Before Diana has recovered from the effects of this startling intelligence, her husband returns, and, connecting her distress with Mrs. Vavasour's visit, of which he has other evidence, forbids her to see that lady again. Subsequently he demands from her a promise that she will not write to Mrs. Vavasour, and her refusing to give this, combined with another untoward incident, leads to a serious quarrel between them.

Shortly afterwards, Captain Fitzroy is ordered away on duty ; and before he goes, he makes Diana promise that she will neither receive nor write to Mrs. Vavasour.

After his departure, however, Mrs. Vavasour and Diana meet accidentally, and Mrs. Vavasour extorts from her a promise to meet her at night in certain gardens in the neighbourhood. There she demands from her four thousand pounds, as the only means of saving her from exposure and ruin. Diana pleads her utter inability to command such a sum, when Mrs. Vavasour, after declaring that, failing the assistance she needs, she will poison herself, reminds her of her diamonds, and it is ultimately agreed that she shall pawn them, with the aid of Colonel Hassard, to a native money-lender.

At the time agreed on, Colonel Hassard accompanies her to the money-lender, and the matter is arranged, Colonel Hassard signing a joint bond with her, as security for the interest ; and a cheque for four thousand pounds is made over to Mrs. Vavasour.

After Captain Fitzroy's return, a regimental ball is given, and Diana, having to account to him for her inability to wear her diamonds on the occasion, is compelled to have recourse to a falsehood. Ultimately an accident leads to his discovering that she has pawned them, together with all the details of the transaction, upon which he puts the worst construction, *viz.*, that Mrs. Vavasour is in possession of some guilty secret of hers ; that she has paid her the money in order to purchase her silence, and that Hassard is her partner in guilt.

Called upon by him to explain her conduct, all that Diana can do is to protest that she is innocent, and to declare that, but for an oath, by which she is bound to keep another's secret, she could clear herself. Appealed to, to release her from her promise, Mrs. Vavasour replies in a jeering letter, telling her to brave it out, for she can do nothing, and shortly afterwards leaves on a visit to Australia, and Captain Fitzroy determines to separate from his wife and send her forthwith to England.

On their arrival at Bombay, Diana is attacked with brain fever, and her husband is thus compelled to defer his intention.

During her illness circumstances occur which lead him to relent ; there is a partial reconciliation ; and eventually she returns to his house at Sindi ; but it is not till more than a month afterwards that the dying confession of Mrs. Vavasour, who has come back from Australia and met with a carriage accident, convinces him of her innocence and restores her to his confidence.

The story of "Interference" turns upon a complication, which, if tradition speaks truly, has been actually exemplified in

Anglo-Indian life. George Holroyd, an Indian officer on leave, in Ireland, is introduced to Mrs. Redmond, an impecunious, scheming lady of the "old Campaigner" type, and her husband-hunting and no less scheming daughter, Belle, with whom lives Betty Redmond, a niece of Mrs. Redmond's, and a girl of a very different and altogether lovable character. George Holroyd is at first attracted by the showy, though superficial daughter, but eventually finds her out and transfers his attentions to the niece. In due time, he returns to India, without having actually proposed to Betty, but not without having given her to understand what his feelings to her are. After his return, he writes, formally proposing to Betty, and unsuspectingly encloses the letter in one to Mrs. Redmond. That lady alters the Christian name to Belle, and hands the letter to her daughter, whom she sends out to Holroyd, at the same time writing to him, confessing what she has done, imploring his forgiveness, telling him that Betty is about to be married to some one else, and that she herself is dying, and appealing to his chivalry not to throw her daughter over. George Holroyd believes the writer's statement, and, though he still loves Betty and can barely bring himself to tolerate Belle, he keeps the secret of the fraud from her and marries her. As might have been expected, his life with Belle, who turns out a virago of the most pronounced type, is an unmitigated failure. Ransacking her husband's papers, Belle discovers the way in which her marriage had been brought about. A terrific scene follows between her and her husband and Betty, who has, in the meantime, come out to India, and is a guest in their house at Naineetal. Belle turns Betty out of the house at night, in the middle of a storm, and George Holroyd goes with her, to escort her to her uncle's, vowing never to return. Shortly afterwards, Belle follows them, in repentant mood, and is swept away by a landslip; the reader being left to infer that George Holroyd marries Betty.

Next to its unpretentiousness, perhaps the most marked feature of Mrs. Croker's method, is the almost entire absence of any attempt to thrust her own personality into her story, whether in the shape of moral reflection, or psychological analysis. Without a single notable exception that we can call to mind, she leaves her characters to develop themselves by their action and their dialogue, without comment, and without explanation, other than of a strictly narrative kind.

Whatever may be the cause of an abstinence so unusual in the novel writer of the day, whether it be due to deliberate purpose, based on a sense of the just requirements of her art, or to a natural preference for the dramatic form, there is ample evidence in her work that it is not due to any lack of the

reflective spirit, or any want of psychological insight. The following passage from "Diana Barrington," in which Father Paul describes the results of revisiting his native village after an absence of forty years, is but one of many which bear testimony to this:—

"I went, my child, because I had an irrepressible craving to see my native land, after an absence of forty years. I could not rest, so painful was the longing. Well, I went; and guess how long I stayed. *Two days!* Yes, I am in earnest. My wish was as a Dead Sea apple. I arrived on the spot, where every stone, and every face, were burnt into my memory, by years and years of exile. I sought my old home near the village among the vineyards. The village was unchanged, it was *I* who was changed. I walked up the narrow streets, a stranger. Not one familiar face met mine, not a soul stretched out a hand of welcome to the lame old priest! Our very name was forgotten and out of mind. My brothers were dead, and I was the last of my race. I looked into the butcher's shop, with the familiar name 'Moreau' still above it. I visited the forge, the shoemaker's, and the cabaret, and then I sat down and called for bread and cheese, and put a few questions to the stout, good-natured hostess. She told me that Dubois, the big vine-dresser, was dead, his sons were killed in the war. Monsieur Girault, the curé! Oh, he was long before *her* days. And the family at the château. Yes, Polté, a jeweller from the Rue de la Paix. The old family were all dead and buried. 'Pardon, madame, all but one,' interrupted a red-faced man, with a fierce eye. 'There was one, a priest, who went to the Indies, to squeeze money from the blacks; and he, if he is not dead, he ought to be.' I sat and listened. The old family was not quite forgotten. It was discussed, abused, ridiculed. There was not one spark of gratitude, or regret, attached to our name. Then I saw that these things were sent to me as a lesson and a penance. — Our true home is heaven; *that* is the only country on which we should fix our hearts. So I prayed for a while, in the little old chapel, and straightway set my face towards the east. I had been two days in France—two days! forty-eight hours after forty years! But it was enough. My duty lay in this land, and I have come back here, to work—and die."

But, beyond question, Mrs. Croker's strong point is her dialogue. Without being too clever to be natural, it never sinks to the level of commonplace. Her characters generally say the right thing in the right place, and it is not uncommonly a very happy, or a very pungent, thing, or a thing that shows great resourcefulness in a difficult situation, but it is seldom or never a thing which a ready-witted person of the speaker's class would be unlikely to say under the circumstances.

Nothing could well be crisper, or more full of piquancy, and, at the same time, nothing could well be truer to nature, than the *tête-à-tête* between Diana Barrington and Loo Lawless, in which the latter sows the seeds of the misunderstanding between Diana and her lover, referred to in our sketch of the plot of "Diana Barrington." But we will preface it with a passage from a previous chapter, to give the reader a clue to Mrs. Lawless' real character:—

In those early days I was very fond of Loo Lawless. I admired her as ardently as if I had been a young man;—I liked her better than any one in Gurrumpore, and—extraordinary experience!—On some days I liked her much better than others! And now that the glamour of that period has subsided, let me endeavour to describe her, calmly, dispassionately and impartially. She was short and rather plump—with a neat, trim plumpness; her hair was

dark brown ; her nose was insignificant ; but what brilliant teeth ! and what an enchanting smile ! As to her eyes, they were the most remarkable I had ever seen—I doubt if there were such another pair in India—they were a greenish-gray—more green than gray—changeable as a chameleon ! I have seen them the colour of the summer sea ; again, I have seen them the colour of a thunder-cloud ; they were veiled by delightful black lashes, that curled upwards—and were alternately melting, provoking, appealing, or malicious ; their every-day expression was a kind of merry, interrogative twinkle—but at all times they were eyes of matchless eloquence. What things those eyes have said to me !—they have told me they admired me, loved me, pitied me, distrusted me, hated me. Wicked eyes !—lying eyes !—*what* have you not said to other people ?

Besides her indisputable personal attractions, Loo Lawless had most captivating manners ; she could be all things to all men—ay, and to all women too ! She had such spirits, such a charm, and such irresistible little “ways,” that she stormed and captured the hearts of the most flinty, and prejudiced old fogies ; what wonder that she carried the easily-gained affections of a simple little goose like me ?

She danced well, played tennis admirably, sang with immense feeling and expression (in her face), dressed irreproachably, and talked amusingly. It seemed to me that she was an Admirable Crichton in petticoats, and I became her slave. Such was the spell that she cast over people, that no matter *what* tales they had heard about her—as, for instance, that she was selfish, rapacious, time-serving, unscrupulous, false, and vain, no one ever remembered, much less believed, a word of them, after a quarter of an hour of her sole and exclusive attention.

Whenever she appeared at the Club, the Polo, or the Band, she was instantly surrounded by a little group of worshippers, and, indeed, I do not think she could have existed without the fumes of incense. She was the Queen of Gurrumpore. Where was the General's wife—a very pretty, domestic, little woman ? Figuratively speaking, nowhere. Where was Mrs. Mayne, a bride, years younger than Loo Lawless, and with a most attractive face ? Nowhere. Where were the girls of the station ? Nowhere. They simply stood and looked on, or “held the candles,” so to speak, whilst the bewitching little matron captivated all the most eligible swains. Where were Carrie and I ? Alas, that I must confess the humiliating fact, we were nowhere ; it was our humble rôle to be Loo's ladies-in-waiting, whilst she held her court at dance or tennis party, and to share the attentions of Captain Fitzroy, Mr. Conroy, or Peter Hare, whilst *she* distributed smiles and glances among half-a-dozen men.

I could not help feeling some curiosity to get at the bottom of the problem ; what was it about Mrs. Lawless that was so irresistible, so magnetic ? I hinted this question to Peter one day, in all good faith—Peter who never formed one of her train, or belonged to what was called the army of “enchanted subalterns”—and Peter answered, in his off-hand way :

“Oh men never run after *her*, you know.”

“Oh, *never* !” I repeated ironically, “we can *all* see that.”

“No, she runs after them, and takes 'em up ; and they don't mind.”

“What on earth do you mean ?”

“Well, I mean, that she does heaps of things, you girls would not do—she writes to fellows and asks them to come and see her, to take her out for drives, to lend her horses ; to escort her to places to play tennis. I know one chap who used to get three or four ‘chits’ a day—till at last he gave up answering, and said ‘Plenty Salaam’ and that choked her off. She asks men to dance with her, too——”

“Not she !—” I interrupted, with scornful incredulity.

“But she *does*—they rather like it—it saves 'em a lot of trouble ! She is awfully down on girls, I can tell you. *Death* on them ! never gives them a good word—and hates to see them coming to the front.”

“I know you are not in earnest,” I said, “and that you don't care for Mrs. Lawless, nor *she* for you ; and you are only saying all this, to get what you would call a rise out of me—but you *won't*.”

"Upon my honour, I am not joking," said Peter very eagerly. "She's about the fastest little woman in India—she goes by the name of 'Unlimited Loo!' and it suits her down to the ground."

How can you say such horrible things?" I burst out indignantly. "Mrs. Lawless *fast*! Mrs. Lawless not like girls! She is most kind to me—and am *I* not a girl? Mrs. Lawless write to men, and ask them to drive her out, or to dance with her! She would no more think of doing such things than I would myself."

"Oh, all right. All right," said Peter impatiently. "How long have you known her?"

"Four weeks."

"Ah, four weeks is too short a time."

"For what?" I asked shortly.

"Well, for *her* to get tired of you—and for *you* to find her out!"

Mrs. Lawless, whose jealousy of Diana had been recently fanned to a white heat by Captain Fitzroy's attentions to her, and who had for some days treated her with decided coolness, suddenly invites her to—"come into her diggings and look at all her pretty things."

This was an honour that I had never been accorded, even in the early days of our ardent friendship. She had often favoured *me* with long *stances* in my apartment, but neither Carrie, nor I, had ever penetrated to *her* bower, which was somewhat out of the way, and where she spent hours in writing letters, dozing, reading, and dressing. It was the largest bedroom in the house, and delightfully cool and lofty. A writing-table stood in one window, littered with letters and photographs; photographs in a variety of pretty frames were scattered lavishly on brackets, on shelves, and even on the toilet-table; all portraits of men, chiefly in uniform, and mostly young and good-looking. As I stood gazing at this picture-gallery, and counting the numbers in amazement (I had already reckoned up thirty-seven), Loo, — who had been shuffling away some outspread correspondence—came over, and placed a small faded photograph in my hand, and said in a mournful voice: "This is Freddy, my darling husband." I glanced at it, and beheld the portrait of what Carlyle would have called, "a very trivial-looking person!" His forehead slanted back, he had no chin worth mentioning, weakness was stamped on every lineament, and the expression of his face, was pitifully abject! I could not say that he was handsome, or even that he looked clever.

"Where is he?" I asked, rather lamely.

"At Sodabee; an awful station, poor fellow, with no one to speak to. but the doctor and police officer; it is frightfully hot and unhealthy, and out of the way, but the pay is capital, and that is the main thing, especially as I am going home next year? I am wretchedly delicate, and I can't stand Sodabee—such a depressing place! I went to the hills for the last hot weather, and then I offered to go back, but Freddy would not hear of it, and sent me to Gurrumpore."

"And is he not very lonely?"

"Well, no. You see he has his office work all day, and when *I* am there, he is always so miserable and so anxious about me. Now I want to show you some of my pretty things," and turning away, she opened a drawer and took out half-a-dozen velvet and morocco cases.

"See these diamond stars. Are they not lovely? Are *your* diamonds as fine?"

"Yes; but these are beautiful," I said admiringly.

"And look at this exquisite pearl and amethyst necklet, Indian style; Colonel Robinson gave it to me on my birthday. This pretty gold chatelaine was from poor Stanley Clark, a dear boy, but frightfully hard up; he has since had to fly the country? This duck of a sapphire ring was pressed into my hand by old Doctor Box. Oh, wouldn't his wife be wild if she knew! She has a large family, and keeps him awfully tight in hand when she is out here! It must have cost, at *least*, a thousand rupees."

"And the diamond swallow brooch?" I said, taking it out of its pale-blue velvet case. "I almost think I like *it* the best of all."

"Yes, is it not charming?" she exclaimed enthusiastically.

"And look at the sweet little heart in its beak—so deliciously significant! Guess who gave it to me?"

"Your husband? I hazarded.

"Bah! *He* puts his money in the bank."

"Colonel Raitt?"

"Worse and worse! He dare not give me anything, now that Carrie has come out. Try again."

As I stood pondering, with the brooch in my hand, she gave a sort of little bubbling laugh, and said:

"What do you say to Captain Fitzroy?"

What *could* I say to Captain Fitzroy?

I felt the colour creeping up to my very temples, so much was I surprised. At first I could only turn over the brooch—too stunned to speak. At last I found my tongue and said:

"And were they *all* birthday presents?"

"No, you delightfully simple child."

"Then—why——?" I began incoherently.

"Why do people give me pretty things? you would say. Because they like it, and because I am so attractive as the old lady said when she was struck by lightning. Of course, when one is rather out of the common, in the way of looks, men will be silly, and women will be jealous. Look at this lovely little turquoise-mounted whip; it was given to me along with a saddle, and bridle; those silver-backed brushes I won in a bet. Are they not nice? I had eight of these very heavy gold bangles—all offerings from different people—but I was hard up at home, and sold them for ten pounds a piece. However, I am collecting again. Now come and inspect my best frocks," opening a wardrobe. "Alas, there is no occasion for wearing them here."

"Are they presents too?" I inquired, staring at the array before me.

"No. I draw the line at clothes. A habit, or a velvet dress, I don't so much mind," she admitted quite frankly, "and Sir Foster Jones gave me that cream-and-gold brocade; but it's a favour to take anything from old fogies like him; and he adores dress."

"Is it right to accept presents from—every one?" I asked bluntly.

"Why not from friends? If these men had not spent their coin on presents for *me*, they would most probably have squandered it foolishly on shooting trips, cards and racing. They like giving things to a pretty woman. So, if *you* are offered any little odds and ends, such as gloves, books, bangles, don't be silly, like Carrie, but take them, and make no fuss. All is fish that comes into *my* net."

So it seemed! My eyes, wandering round, caught sight of a large cabinet photo of Captain Fitzroy in uniform. I took it up, and examined it closely.

So he did not like Mrs Lawless! She was not a suitable companion for me. Nevertheless, he had given her a lovely brooch and a significantly large picture of himself.

"Ah!" she said, with a little conscious giggle; "you are looking at Hugh Fitzroy. He gave me that at Christmas. Tell me, Diana—how do you like him?"

"Not at all," I answered very sharply. How *could* I like so false a man?

"Oh!" with affected amazement. "Now I thought you did, and was going to warn you; but as you don't care about him, it is no matter," she concluded composedly.

"What were you going to say?" I asked, with assumed unconcern.

"Only that, of course he is very good-looking and amusing, and rather interesting, for he has been very well off, and now he is the reverse. All the same, I do not think he is a desirable acquaintance for you. He may divert himself—possibly get you talked about, and certainly have *no* intentions. But, to do him justice, he never goes in for girls! Besides, he has not a sou but his *pay*. And you must marry well. Every 'spin' who comes here get's married."

"And what about Carrie? She has been here for three years. She is not married."

"Ah! poor dear Carrie! She is so oppressively amiable and matter-of-fact. Unfortunately, all her adorers invariably desert her for *me*," rejoined Loo, with a soft laugh.

"Do they? But you are married. Why should *you* have adorers?" I asked, with some austerity.

"I call them *friends*, my dear; and it's nonsense to suppose that because a woman is married she is to have no more amusement, or that the marriage service is a sort of extinguisher on a girl. I believe in friendship between men and women. I much—ten thousand times—prefer them to my own sex; they have no nasty spite, they don't backbite one another, and they are most generous." (Certainly *she* had every reason to say so.) "Yes, I believe in Platonic friendship, in spite of what old cats of gossips say. And, unluckily for Carrie, friendship for *me* is incompatible with love for her."

"And does she not like you?"

"Like me?" casting up her eyes. "You sweet little, innocent angel, she loathes me—quite naturally!"

"And you know this, and kiss her, and call her dear!" I exclaimed indignantly,

"Yes, certainly! I admit the soft impeachment; it amuses me, and it aggravates her. And then, we have to keep up appearances with our eiders. Uncle Tom, and Aunt Sally put me quite at the top of the class; but Carrie, dear, sensible girl, would gladly see me in the corner—or the black hole. However, she has tact enough to hold her tongue. Now, *you* are a girl entirely after my own heart—a child in mind, young, fresh, and impressionable as wax. I have taken you in hand, and taught you how to dress, dance, and do your hair; but you have a great deal to learn yet. I shall have the pleasure of completing your education, and you shall be *so* metamorphosed, that your own father won't know you! You shall be my pupil, you highly favoured girl."

I thought of Captain Fitzroy's words, became excessively red, and made no reply.

"Here comes tea! I ordered mine in here. Push the things off that little table, and sit down in that big chair. Now, my dear, I'll give you one or two maxims to begin with, whilst you sip your tea. Dress is a great factor in all a woman's successes; maxim number two, all men are fools," and she nodded her head, as if she had delivered some weighty judgment.

"Loo!" I ejaculated, with expanded eyes

"Yes. Flatter them; the oldest, the youngest, the sourest, the cleverest,—they have all their vulnerable points; and I need not tell an intelligent girl like *you*, that no citadel is stronger than its weak point."

"I know one man who has no weak point—and that is my father."

"But I am certain that he has—and what is more, I can name it, *now*."

"Then name it!" I said sceptically.

"Why—you—yourself!" she answered, nodding and smiling.

I felt that there was truth in this and was silent.

"Yes," she pursued, "I flatter myself, that I could turn your father—or any man—round my little finger in a day—that is, if I chose to take the trouble."

She looked such a pretty little creature, as she lay back in an arm-chair, dressed in a soft silk and lace tea-gown, and so pleasantly assured of her own powers, that I believed her most implicitly. Certainly she could wind *me* round her finger, in ten minutes!

"You are looking very grave—what are you thinking about?" she asked playfully.

"I am wondering, what is the weapon by which you, as you say, vanquish all mankind,"

"I have already told you, my dear! My magic philtre is cheap, effectual, pleasant to the taste and delightful to swallow—it is called Flattery. You open your innocent, hazel eyes—you stare at me as if I had two heads, you ridiculous little jungle girl," and she stood up as she spoke, and patted my

cheek with two pretty, jewel-decked fingers. "Don't you believe me?" she added smilingly.

I shook my head, but made no other reply.

"And yet you believe in other things?" she exclaimed. "See what it is to be young and simple! You believe in Mrs. Fair's complexion, in Mrs. Gimlett's bargains, in Uncle Tom's Shikar stories, in Carrie's good-nature, and—in *Captain Fitzroy*," and she looked at me, with her head on one side, and laughed—such a mocking little laugh! "Well, my dear, I would not dispel your fond illusions for the world! I declare there is five o'clock striking—I must get dressed at once; for Colonel Strange will be waiting, and tearing out his few remaining hairs."

And with another pat on the cheek, and a beaming smile, I was dismissed; and returned to my own apartment, a sadder and a wiser girl.

No less clever or vivacious than the above are the following dialogues from "Pretty Miss Neville." They take place between Mrs. Vane, a married flirt of a more amiable type than "unlimited Loo," and the heroine, who, it will be understood, is, quite unknown to her tormentor, also the heroine of the "family romance" which Captain Beresford has confided to Mrs. Vane's husband, and he, in his turn, to Mrs. Vane:—

Without pausing for answer she said: "Now tell me all about your Irish home; evidently preparing herself for a long session.

"There's nothing to tell! I replied briefly, not raising my eyes from my crewel-work. "I came out to India when I was seventeen."

"And were wrecked *en route*. How funny!"

"Anything but funny, I think you would have found it," I replied gravely.

"Well, and tell me, have you any particular friend in Mulkapore—any *cher ami*?" she asked insinuatingly.

"No, not one," I answered with perfect truth.

"What, not one? Oh, come now—think again!"

"If I thought till doomsday, I could not conjure up the sort of friend you mean. I hate Platonic friendships," I remarked with great emphasis, and giving my wool a jerk that broke the thread.

"Of course, I know that you are engaged. The intelligence was strictly masonic. But even so, why not amuse yourself *pro tem*? 'When the cat's away the mice will play.' My! what a picture of virtuous indignation! Only I am quite too comfortable, I would fetch you a looking-glass. Look at me. I have half-a-dozen dear little bow-wows—*moi qui vous parle*," patting herself complacently.

"Then more shame for you," I retorted with more than ordinary warmth.

"Ha—ha ha! You amuse me immensely. I should not be a bit surprised if one day you were the *death* of me," she went on, still cackling to herself. Then clasping her hands behind her head, and surveying me lazily, she said: "Why should I not have my little pack? Don't you know that flirting (harmless flirting) is the privilege of the married women? My dear old hub has his amusements, his little game, his big shooting, and I have mine—my little game, my big shooting. I bring down a brigadier just as he does a bison. only my spoil is not mortally wounded. It never does anyone any vital harm to admire *me*."

"I don't understand you," I said stiffly.

"Quite shocked, I declare. Well, then, she sha'n't be shocked; such a good, prim, little girl, she shall look at nice, pretty, proper pictures, she shall."

"I really wish you would leave me alone, Mrs. Vane," I exclaimed, half laughing, half crying.

"No, indeed. I have a rich treat in store for you, you ridiculous pre-Adamite. I am going to show you my album and introduce you to all my friends," she said, unlocking, as she spoke, a very handsomely-bound album. "Put away your work and your book, and come a little closer to me and enlarge your ideas."

"Why, do you never read yourself, Mrs. Vane? I never see you open a book," I remarked, reluctantly putting away a magazine into which I had intended to dip during the afternoon.

"Oh, I *hate* reading; my only book is the great book of Nature, and tragedies and comedies in real life my only study! Now, attention; I am conferring an enormous favour on you, if you only knew it. It is not everyone that has the privilege of seeing my photographs.

"This is Horace Fuller, of the Navy Blue Dragoons; such a flirt, my dear"—throwing up her eyes—"but nevertheless, a sincere admirer of yours truly. This is Sir Fortescue Brown, such an old duck; here opposite, is Alymer Byng—he is dead, poor fellow! This woman with the mufi is a Mrs. Burton, who sets up for a professional beauty; she has a good deal of nerve, has she not? She has a face exactly like a cat's head done in coarse worsted."

And so on, and so on, we passed in review the contents of the album. There was a remark to be made about every photo, and to most there hung a tale. At length we came to the last page. Taking up an envelope that lay inside the cover, Mrs. Vane said: "Oh, here it is! I could not make out where I had put it. Now, my sweet, unsophisticated little friend, prepare yourself for the *bonne bouche*. I am now," she continued oratorically, "about to introduce you to the showman of the Horse Artillery, such a handsome fellow, quite too, too good-looking; a splendid rider, a perfect dancer, in fact, good at everything all round—rackets, cricket, shooting. Not much of a ladies' man as yet, it is true, but, with a little training, he will fetch and carry nicely."

"And what is the name of this remarkable, too good-looking gunner?" I asked carelessly; "Crichton the Second?"

"No," she replied, taking the photo out of its envelope, gazing at it for a second, and then solemnly putting it into my hand. "His name is *Captain Maurice Beresford*."

"What on earth are you blushing about?" she asked, suddenly catching a view of my brilliant cheeks. "Surely you are not affected to blushes by his mere photo? I know you have never seen him, as he has been in Bengal for the last five years. What are you getting so red for, eh?"

"I—I—I'm *not* red," I stammered. "How can you be so absurd?"

"Well, you certainly had a sudden effusion of blood to the head. Whatever was the cause? Is he not handsome? Can you wonder now that he has broken half the girls' hearts in Lucknow?"

"I thought you said he was not a ladies' man?" I interposed quickly.

"Neither he is—at any rate, not a marrying man. Oh dear me! I wish his battery was here. There was some talk of a move. I wish you could see him, Nora—I know you would like him."

My first astonishment over, I collected my scattered wits, and, stooping to pick up Mrs. Vane's thimble, said:

"And where is this Captain Beresford now?"

"Oh—up at the front. The foremost in the fray. He has been doing all manner of fine things and winning laurels by the cartload. There is some wonderful story about him running along the roof of a house with a lighted fuse in his hand, and throwing it down among the enemy; quite an Homeric exploit! He carried his life in his hand that time, did he not? Whenever I hear of these rash and reckless deeds on a man's part, I always say to myself, 'The more fool you?' I should make but a poor soldier. I know I should bolt at the first shot. Self-preservation is the first law of nature; what do you say, Nora?"

"I do not think I should run away; running away entails a show of moral courage that I do not possess. After all one can die but once!"

I had by no means heard the last of Maurice! Mrs. Vane constantly spoke of him. He was very intimate at her home in Lucknow, and his mother and Colonel Vane had been distantly connected.

"He set great store by the old lady, and is always talking about her," remarked Mrs. Vane during another of our afternoon siestas. "He was terribly cut up, when she died last year, and went nowhere for months, excepting to our house. I must tell you a funny story he told George, and of course I heard it afterwards, as my dear old man keeps nothing from me, nor I from him."

"Perhaps it is private, and you ought not to tell me," I exclaimed, anxious to postpone the topic.

"Private! Nonsense! As you don't know the parties in question, there is not the slightest harm, and really, it is a most romantic anecdote. George was chaffing him about some girl—only in fun, of course—and, my dear Noah, he took it up quite seriously, and told George that he never could marry, and the reason. Quite a family romance, I can assure you; shall I tell it to you?"

"If you like," I answered indifferently, sitting well back in the shade of the window curtain, and making a feint of working.

"He has only *one* near relation in the world, this happy, lucky man—a cousin; and as the family property—probably a bog—could not go to her, and she had not a shilling to jingle on a milestone, their mutual grandfather, or uncle, made Captain Beresford promise to marry her—a nice little arrangement, was it not?"

An inaudible muttering was my only reply.

"She, the *fiancée*, was an unformed, uncultivated child of fourteen at the time. Well the old man died, and the girl lived on at the family place, till about a year ago, when, one fine day, some busybody, for want of something to do, told her that she was a pauper, living on sufferance, and that her cousin had been bound over to marry her willy nilly. Her grand old Irish pride was instantly in arms, of course, and without the common courtesy of an adieu to her neighbours, much less P. P. C. cards, she disappeared bodily, in fact, run away. I suppose they dragged all the bog drains, but at any rate she was nowhere to be found. Is it not quite a romantic story?" asked Mrs. Vane, pausing abruptly and turning towards me.

"Oh, very."

"I never met with such a matter-of-fact, uninterested old Noah. I don't believe you were even *listening*."

"I was, of course. Pray go on."

"At first people thought that the young lady had gone off to America; and there was even a rumour that she had been shipwrecked and drowned. But no such luck was in store for Captain B. A month or two after her flitting, a letter was received from his betrothed, announcing her existence; and that she had found a very happy home. The artful minx had had the letter posted in London."

Of course I had. I had enclosed it in one of my effusions to Deb.

"She must have been a strong-minded, determined sort of girl, must she not, and rather clever too, going off in that way, without leaving a trace behind?" said Mrs. Vane, looking at me interrogatively.

"Yes, I suppose so, I don't know," I answered mechanically. "And the cousin, was he in great affliction when he found that his affianced bride had taken French leave?"

"That I cannot tell you. I fancy she was a wild, head-strong sort of girl, with nothing to boast of either in the way of beauty or manners. Nevertheless, he still considers himself bound to marry her, if he can find her."

"And if she will have him," I put in rashly.

"Oh, there is not likely to be an *if* to that question," resumed Mrs. Vane, with an air of tranquil superiority. "The little idiot never knew what she was running away *from*. He is not merely awfully good-looking, but so nice, and so gentlemanly, everyone likes him—men and women alike——"

"And is certain to be a conceited ape," I added, rudely completing her encomiums. "I suppose he never found a trace of this wild Irish cousin?" I continued boldly, and now playing the part of interested auditor to admiration.

"Not the faintest clue. I dare say she is a slavey in some London lodging-house; and if that is her fate, all I can say is, that she richly deserves it. What is your opinion?"

My opinion was expressed in a sudden and utterly uncontrollable fit of

laughter; laughter I could not possibly restrain. I laughed from sheer nervousness, and nothing else. The more Mrs. Vane ejaculated and exclaimed at my unaccountable fit of mirth, the more I gave way to it. At length, completely exhausted, I dried my eyes, and picked up my work, Mrs. Vane gazing at me in open-mouthed amazement,

"My good old Noah!" she cried. "you are crazy; you *must* have a slate off! Whatever possessed you to laugh so immoderately at nothing?" gazing at me in blank amazement, and dropping her crewels.

"I cannot tell," I answered, reddening in spite of myself. "Very little amuses me, as you know. Tell me, Mrs. Vane, what would *you* have done in that girl's case? Would you have stayed?"

"Certainly I would," she returned promptly. "Especially if I had the smallest *soupcçon* of the entire desirability of my future husband. Never quarrel with your bread and butter; it never answers. Be sure that that young person has long ago repented her foolish proceeding in sackcloth and ashes. And now, tell me what you would have done, my unromantic, prudent Noah? Let us have your ideas on the subject."

"I would have done exactly what she did," I answered firmly.

"Not *you*!" responded my friend emphatically. "You are much too prosaic a young lady."

"Not so prosaic as you imagine," I replied with unusual decision. "The best thing that girl can do is to marry someone else, and so release her cousin most effectually—if he still thinks himself bound by that preposterous engagement," I added, without raising my eyes from the enormous sunflower on which my fingers were occupied.

"Undoubtedly," rejoined Mrs. Vane. "But all the same she ought to have a glimpse of the old love before she is on with the new. If I were a girl, engaged to Maurice Beresford, I would certainly think *twice* before giving him up. But, of course, you and I look on the matter from a different point of view. I have seen him, and you have *not*."

A still higher level, however, is reached in some of the Irish scenes in the earlier part of Mrs. Croker's last, and, in point of both characterisation and dialogue, if not of plot, her strongest story, "Interference." Take, for instance, the following:—

George leant his elbow on the mantel-piece, and looked at her attentively. How different from the golden haired angel of his childhood. How aged, and thin, and worn she had become during these last five years!

"Mother," he said abruptly, "you are looking ill and worried; what is the matter. Have you any trouble on your mind?"

"Yes, George, to tell the truth I have; but I am not going to share it with you. So don't ask me. You have been only too generous—the best of sons,—and if I have seen but little of you of late, nor seemed a real mother to you, I have never forgotten you day and night, and when I heard that you were so ill, I cannot tell you what I suffered, or describe my feelings." (The Major's feelings were those of complacent anticipation; if George died unmarried, his income of five hundred a year lapsed to his mother for her life.)

"Are you quite sure that the sea voyage has set you up? And *tell* me dear, do you wear flannel next to your skin?" gazing up into his face, with an expression of intense anxiety.

"Do I look like an invalid?" he returned with an evasive smile, "I am as right as a trivet now. I was well before we reached Suez. Never mind me, but tell me all about Denis," and, leaning towards her, he said—

"Your trouble is about *him*, is it not?"

"George, you must be a wizard. How could you guess? Well you are right; it *is* about him. His college expenses are frightful, and his tailor's bill is incredible."

"I should not have supposed that he spent much on his clothes," remarked his brother gravely.

"But he does, and there is a long account at his grocer's—he breakfasts in his rooms—for tea and sugar, and raisins, and candles—such quantities of candles, but he will study at night (miserable Mrs. Malone, for candles read whisky; for sugar, porter; for tea, gin). "I really dare not show them to his father," and she put a ragged lace handkerchief to her eyes and wept.

"Perhaps, mother, you had better show them to *me*" suggested George.

"No, no, you are far too liberal. You have little enough as it is," she sobbed. "I am past help," casting her thoughts over all their debts, their accumulating debts, in Dublin, Ballingooole, and at the County bank. "You might as well try to bale the sea with a tea-spoon, as to help *me*."

"But if I may not help my own mother, whom may I help?" he urged eagerly. "I have been living at a cheap little up-country station, where I had no way of spending rupees, and I have a good balance at Cox's. I can let you have a cheque for three hundred pounds at once."

"Oh George, I am ashamed to take it," she whimpered, drawing him towards her, and throwing her arms round his neck. "You make me feel like a guilty woman; you make me feel like a thief."

"Mother, you must never say that to *me*. Besides, you forget that I brought you home no presents. I was too hurried to look for things in Bombay, and I am sure you can lay out the money far more sensibly than I should have done in trashy curiosities."

(This three hundred pounds was part of a sum that he had set aside for his trip home; he had had visions of a couple of clever hunters, of renting a small shooting-box, of a round of the London theatres, and a trip to Paris and Nice.)

"It is true that your Uncle Godfrey is going to make you his heir?" she asked, as she dried her eyes and brightened up a little; "I heard something about it from old Miss Holroyd."

"No, he offered me a large allowance if I would cut the Service, and marry."

"And what did you say, George? I hope you promised to think it over."

"I thanked him, and declined. I have enough for myself. I have no idea of marrying, and I mean to stick to the Service as long as it will stick to me."

"If you ever *do* marry, dear, I hope you will get a good wife. Marriage is a great lottery, and there are many blanks."

One of these blanks now walked into the room, in the shape of Major Malone, followed by a tray of light refreshments, also by Cuckoo, red-eyed, but tranquil.

George poured out a glass of wine, and carried it to his mother, whilst Cuckoo helped herself generously to macaroons, remarking, as she did so: "Denis says that sherry is *poison*,—eighteen shillings a dozen, don't you touch it; it's only kept for visitors; we never have supper like this when we are alone. These are lovely macaroons," speaking with her mouth full. "Cleary, the grocer, grumbled about giving them; he is owed *such* a bill, and he says,—

"Cuckoo," roared her father, I have told you once before to-night to hold your tongue. Upon my word, Lucy, I believe that girl is possessed of some devil. I shall pack her off to a reformatory one of these days.

As to Cleary, the grocer, now blustering and helping himself to a stiff tumbler of highly colored whisky and water, "he is uncommonly proud of my custom, and thankful to have it. It was my father who first set him going, and without the Malones of Bridgetstown, he would be in a very poor way. (Thanks to the Malones of Bridgetstown, he *was* in a very poor way.)

The Major had a notion that tradespeople actually considered his orders a high compliment, and fully equivalent to cash, and when he strutted into a shop, be it tailor's, saddler's, or grocer's, he selected largely of the best. He did not comprehend self-denial, nor why *he* should lack anything that was furnished to men of ten times his means. Yet when creditors timidly ventured to ask for their little account, he considered it a most impertinent liberty, as if they were begging for *his* money. He was not at all sensitive about debt; he owed bills for years to his wine merchant and tailor, and had not the most remote intention of paying them. Ready cash could be laid out so much more pleasantly and satisfactorily. Besides when wine has been drunk, and coats worn thread-bare, is it not a cruel hardship to have your immediate attention requested to a very stiff account?

Cuckoo took shelter behind the chair of her elder brother, and whispered to him, as she munched her macaroons, that "if any one ought to be sent to a reformatory it was Denis; he was out now, smoking in the harness room, with Casey, the jockey, and Mooney, the sweep."

Soon after this refection, the family retired to rest. George had the luxury of a fire in his room, and sat before it for a long time, buried in thought.

What a home this was! His mother a mere heart-broken, household drudge; his sister a mischievous, razor-tongued, little savage; his brother—he was beginning to fear that Denis, of whom his mother had written such glowing accounts, was neither more nor less than an idle scapegrace; and, as to Major Malone, he was Major Malone.

Before the mistress of the house removed her unwonted finery, she got an envelope and pencil, and hurriedly jotted down her most pressing debts. The butcher's bill was £209. Would £80 stop Mrs. Maccabe's mouth? The baker was owed £15, and one of Denis' most dangerous creditors was clamouring for a hundred "on the nail." There would be no margin for Cuckoo's new outfit, nor for the sealskin jacket for herself, at which George had hinted. This three hundred pounds would be a mere drop in the ocean. George must write her a larger cheque. Yes! poor woman, her finer feelings were blunted by distressing and disgraceful shifts; the iron entered into her soul, when she evaded Miss Bolland and cringed to Mrs. Maccabe—terrible Mrs. Maccabe. George was well off: he had no ties, and but few expenses; and, in spite of all her tears and deprecation, she was prepared to despoil her eldest born, to shield and succour Denis.

"Lucy," said the Major, looking through his dressing-room door, tie in hand "do you think that fellow would back a bill for me. Eh! what? what?"

"No, indeed, Major, I am certain he would not," she returned indignantly.

"What have you got on that paper there? Eh, show?"

"Bills; debts: we owe so much money that I am ashamed to walk through the town."

"Cleary, the grocer, sent up to-day, and, as to Mrs. Maccabe, I tremble when I see her."

"Pooh! So does every one, you are not uncommon in that; the old termagant! I say, is that son of yours going to put his hand in his pocket? What's the use of a rich fellow like that, if he won't help his mother, Eh! what? what?"

"He is not rich, far from it; and he believes that I have my jointure of four hundred a year; he does not know that I sold my life interest in it years ago."

"I hope you impressed upon him that times were bad; I will go bail you cried; it is about the only thing you are good at," he concluded with a savage sneer.

"He has promised me a cheque for three hundred pounds," said Mrs. Malone coldly.

"By Jove; then I will go halves!"

"No, indeed, it is little; it is not half enough. Do you know what we owe Kane, the baker, seventy-five pounds? and he is a poor man, too."

"Bosh! I am a poor man; let these cormorants wait. They *must*; debts of honour come first, and I owe Dunne, of Jockey Hall, a hundred pounds, which will have to be paid at once."

"A bet?"

"Yes, a bet," he answered, with a defiant scowl.

"Tom Malone," she said, tearing the envelope slowly she spoke, "Do you ever think what my life is? Do you know how often I wish I were dead? Do you suppose, if George Holroyd had lived, that I would be the poor, mean, unhappy wretch, that I am?"

"There, don't give me any more of that sort of stuff; you know the old proverb. Eh? what? Never marry a widow, unless her first husband was *hanged*. I have no doubt that if George the First, was the cool-headed, fastidious, fine gentleman his son is, he would have been devilish sick of you long ago. Mind one thing, I must have hundred pounds this week: that chap is well off: times are hard. Why, I am actually smoking a pipe, and drinking cheap Scotch whiskey! You are his mother, you have a strong

claim on him. So don't be afraid of opening your mouth." And with this injunction he entered his dressing-room and shut the door.

As might be anticipated from the excellence of her dialogue, though the connexion is not a necessary one, Mrs. Croker's characterisation is no less admirable. In her portraiture of eccentricities she is specially strong, the effect, however odd it may be, always being convincing. Major Malone, the impecunious, hectoring, reckless Irishman, in "Interference," is a familiar type, re-dressed with great skill and humour, and the quaint, astute and good-hearted, though grim and somewhat terrible Miss Dopping, in the same work, is a masterpiece which it would be difficult to surpass.

Mrs. Croker avoids the mistake of overloading her stories with description. But there is abundant matter of this kind scattered through her pages, though it is never of such length as either to weary the reader, or interfere with the flow of the narrative, and what there is of it shows keen powers of observation, a deep sympathy with nature, and an artistic colour sense which understands how to combine warmth with harmony and sobriety.

A fair specimen of her powers in this line may be found in the description of Port Blair, in the opening chapter of "A Bird of Passage :"—

Port Blair, the Government head-quarters, is situated on Ross, a high conical islet that lies about a mile south of the Middle Andaman, and although of limited circumference, it boasts a stone church, barracks, a Commandant's residence, several gaols, a pier, a bazaar, a circulating library, and a brass band! Every foot of ground is laid out to marvellous advantage, and the neat gravelled pathways, thick tropical hedges, flowering shrubs and foliage plants, give the numerous brown bungalows which cover the hillsides, the effect of being situated in a large and well-kept garden.

The summit of the island commands a wide view: to the north lies the mainland with its sharply indented shores, and a wide sickle-shaped estuary, sweeping far away into the interior, where its wooded curves are lost among the hills; the southern side of Ross looks sheer out upon the boundless ocean, and receives the full force of many a terrible tropical hurricane that has travelled unspent from the Equator.

There was not a ripple on that vast blue surface one certain August evening a few years ago—save where it fretted gently in and out, between the jagged black rocks that surrounded the island; the sea was like a mirror, and threw back an accurate reflection of boats and hills and wooded shores; distant, seldom-seen islands, now loomed in the horizon with vague, misty outlines; a delicate, soft, south wind barely touched the leaves of the big trees, among whose branches the busy green parrots had been chattering, and the gorgeous peacocks, screeching and swinging, all through the long, hot, sleepy afternoon.

Surely the setting sun was making a more lingering and, as it were, regretful adieu to these beautiful remote islands than to other parts of the world! No pen could describe, no brush convey, any idea of the vivid crimson, western clouds, and the flood of blinding golden light, that bathed the hills, the far-away islets, the tangled mangroves, and the glassy sea.

To the cool dispassionate northern eye, which may have first opened on a leaden sky, snow-capped hills, pine woods, and ploughed lands, there was a general impression of wildly gaudy, south sea scenery, of savage silence and lawless solitude.

Soon that scarlet ball will have plunged below the horizon, a short-lived grey twilight have spread her veil over land and sea, the parrots' noisy pink bills will be tucked under their wings, and the turbulent peacocks have gone to roost.

Or the following description of Ram Tek and its surroundings, from "Diana Barrington :"—

"Ram Tek," once garrisoned by old Rukoo, was a massive Mahratta stronghold that crowned one of a range of hills about ten miles west of Paldi. To reach it, we struck across a bare plain, intersected by the sandy beds of water-courses, with an occasional oasis, in the shape of an isolated village, half hidden in a mango tope, and here and there a Hindoo shrine, and here and there a few Mahomedan graves. After the rains, a tract of country would be extremely fertile, covered with thick crops of paddy, grain, cotton and cholum, and the dry nullahs metamorphosed into rushing brown torrents. Now, under the fierce May sun (setting at present) father and I urged our horses over a plain as barren and as arid as their own Arabian deserts. We were bound for Ram Tek, where father had business with an old Brahmin priest, and I was always delighted to accompany him on these expeditions, for the ruined fort and quaint old temple retained their first attractions for me still. Within a mile of our destination, we came upon an ancient paved road lined with forest trees, and the hills that had looked so blue afar off, seemed suddenly changed to green, and completely clothed with shrubs. We soon reached a straggling red-roofed village, that clustered round the foot of the hill, on the summit of which, stood a rugged old fort, above whose casemented walls towered the white domes of several holy temples—landmark for many miles. Hundreds of years previously some Mahratta freebooter had made them the centre of his fastness, from whence he doubtless frequently descended to harry and pillage the neighbouring plains. Father and I rode slowly up a narrow and very steep track, that wound round the hill, between rocks and trees and lovely flowering shrubs, many of the latter being covered with red and purple flowers. Families of large, able-bodied monkeys, lumbered lazily from tree to tree, and now and then a gaudy peacock and his wives swept hurriedly across our path. Having reached a plateau, we dismounted and entered the fort by a narrow back door in the outer wall. The interior was immense it afforded scope for many temples—half-a-dozen tanks of green stagnant water, a whole herd of sacred cows, and numbers of sleek dreamy-eyed Brahmins. The highest and holiest temple of all was guarded by a man in scarlet, armed with a drawn sword, and seated near him on the steps was a mild-faced old man, with his long beard neatly parted in the middle and tucked behind his ears: this was father's particular friend "Govindoo," and the Chief Priest of Ram, the Monkey God†. He greeted us most cordially, and almost immediately, he and father fell into a serious literary discussion—discussion that had no interest for me. I did not care two straws about the "Metakshara," much less the "Vyahavara Mayukha," and, carefully gathering together my clean white habit, I clambered up the walls of the fort, and with my elbows resting on the ramparts, surveyed the scene. There I beheld, stretching far away to the north, and covered with impassable forests, the great highlands of Central India, once part of the Maharastra, or Kingdom of the Peshwas; the country directly below me was coloured brown, and red, and yellowish, dotted with villages, concealed in shady topes of Peepul or Tamarind, diversified by one or two patches of glittering water; and over all, the evening clouds were drifting, and casting rapid, rugged, shadows as they chased each other into the west. I turned and looked back on the grim old fort, with its rusty cannon and placid priests and cows. I had seen them all so often! I knew the face of every Brahmin—yea, of every cow! Father seemed entirely absorbed in earnest philosophic discourse. No chance of his company for another hour. So I resolved to go down and spend that time, in my favourite seat by the water; and, telling him where to find me, I quitted the temples, passed through the great entrance, guarded on either side by a gigantic stone monkey, and slowly descended the six hundred steps which led to the sacred lake. These steps, were protected by elaborately carved balustrades, and gradually wound round the hill, till they reached the water at its base: they were luxurious steps!

broken by long, generously planned, breathing spaces—and shallow steps, that cost little exertion to descend; passing between shady trees, flowering shrubs, and carved idols in niches, and at every turn catching some new glimpse of the holy lake, that lay beneath, embosomed in the lap of low green hills. This lake was entirely surrounded by curious old temples—temples to Pigs, Elephants, and Monkeys, and hidden among a tangle of Tamarind and Neem and Peepul trees, was a large village. I found its inhabitants much as usual—fishing, washing, gossiping, and praying. I reached the end of my journey, and took up my station in my favorite resort in the porch of a building called the “Rat” Temple, because it contained an enormous effigy of one of those unworthy little beasts. Here, with my back to the hill, and with the water at my feet, I sat and looked at the lake, which resembled a burnished mirror, and threw back such accurate reflections that it seemed to be lined with a double row of shrines. I was by no means “far from the madding crowd!” Men and women were talking and laughing and washing brass chatties. Pious Brahmins were dipping devoutly, and reciting their “mantras,” or evening prayer; not far from me, a school-boy in spectacles was proudly displaying a new book—“The Thousand and One Persian Days”—to a large and eager circle. At first, I had slightly diverted their attention; but, after all, *I* was no novelty, and soon they trooped off, to a great flat stone, jutting out into the water, where they clustered round the scholar like a swarm of bees, whilst he read aloud in a sing-song voice. Another flat stone was shared by two women, with a large scarlet idol; and a little naked child, from a distant doorway, made the hills and temples echo with her shrill cries, to her mother, to “come home, come home.”

The following simply graphic description of a shipwreck, also from “Pretty Miss Neville,” is full of little touches of nature, and wonderfully true to reality, and effective in its absence of effort after effect:

Out of a deep, dreamless slumber I was awoke by a bump that nearly shook me out on the floor! Another followed, still worse, which discharged me into the middle of the cabin. I jumped up now, thoroughly awake. Shouts and cries, and a great many people running overhead, warned me that something serious was the matter. I cautiously opened my cabin-door and peeped out, and in so doing came into violent collision with Colonel Keith, who, in shirt and trousers only, and with his hair all brushed the wrong way, burst into the door-way, exclaiming breathlessly, “We are aground! On rocks! Slip on something and come on deck this instant! Don’t waste a second, there’s a good girl! There’s no danger,” he added reassuringly, as he turned and ran down the cabin with an alacrity I could not have believed possible.

It seemed to me that *everyone* was running. The passengers appeared to be rushing frantically up and down the saloon with coats and bags and anything that came to hand. I returned to my cabin instantly, and slipped on a petticoat, a pair of shoes, and a pale blue flannel dressing-gown, and hastily made my way down the saloon and up on deck. As I reached the top of the companion ladder, the ship, which had run straight on to the coast of Spain in the thick, dense fog, suddenly heeled over, and lay on her beam ends, nearly hurling us into the sea. Colonel Keith seized me and dragged me to a kind of shelter at the leeward; and there I cowered, shivering with cold, clutching him convulsively, knowing well that he was my sheet-anchor. The scene was indescribable. Daylight had broken, and through the fog I could dimly descry immense perpendicular rocks towering hundreds of feet above us—the coast of Spain, and very dangerous, grim, and forbidding it looked. The *Corrunna* lay over on one side, completely at the mercy of the sea, which broke over her from bows to stern.

Several attempts were now made to lower the boats. One was stove in, and one was swamped with all hands; another had been carried off the davits and swept out to sea, and all that now remained between us and destruction was the lifeboat. Presently we were accosted by the captain—how changed from the gay and cheery sailor of the previous evening! His face looked drawn and agonised, as he took my hand and said:

"It's all my fault, Miss Neville, all my fault; but, never fear, I'll save you. Come with me."

We followed him with the greatest difficulty on to the bridge, where the lifeboat still remained intact. The most tremendous exertions of two or three sailors, and nearly all the passengers, at length succeeded in lowering her, but the instant she was launched a wave drove her against the steamer and stove her side in. Being a lifeboat her air-chambers kept her still afloat, and we prepared to descend. Just as we were about to do so, an enormous wave washed over us; it drenched us from head to foot, and dashed the unfortunate stewardess against a hencoop, cutting her head open in a frightful manner; it also disabled two of the men. Directly after this we were lowered into the boat, already half full of water, and shoved off from the dangerous neighbourhood of the *Corunna*. There were at least thirty of us tightly packed together in the seemingly sinking boat—half-a-dozen sailors, some second-class passengers, a doctor and his wife, Mr. Campbell, the second officer, ourselves, and some others, all closely huddled together, wet and half frozen.

We took it in turns to bale out, using our hands and the men's caps, but our exertions were of little use. The women and the men passengers were crowded up at the stern, which was a little higher out of the water than the bows.

One of the sailors, a young man with a bright, cheerful face, kept up our sinking spirits by telling us that he had been in many a worse scrape before, and that we were right in the line of ships, and certain to be picked up before long, and would breakfast on board some steamer without doubt.

"There's the blessed sun!" he cried, as the sun at last made its appearance through the fog; "*now* we are all right"

I sat for more than an hour with the stewardess's head in my lap. She seemed to be quite stunned—only moaning little from time to time. I had bound up her head in Mr. Campbell's silk handkerchief—it was all I could do for her. Fortunately for us the bay was comparatively smooth; great, long, rolling waves were all we had to contend with, and over these we slowly drifted, perfectly helpless, and momentarily deepening in the water. In spite of incessant, almost frantic baling—well, everyone knew that they were toiling for their lives—we still sank steadily.

The fog lifted a little, and presently we saw a fine large steamer coming in our direction. Oh, the joy of that moment! Mr. Harris, the second officer, took off his coat, and waved it on a boat-hook. We shouted, and screamed, and finally cheered—such a miserable, forlorn cheer—led by Colonel Keith's stentorian voice.

"Cheer, boys, if you *ever* cheered!" he cried; "now, all together. I'll give the time. Hih, hip, *hurrah!*"

Fancy people cheering—giving voice to three times three in the very *jaws* of death. Our cheers had some effect—the steamer stopped. We thought we were saved. Poor deluded wretches!—we laughed and talked hysterically; we shook each other's hands. Some of us actually shed tears; such was the revulsion of feeling. But what was our frenzy, our agony, to see the steamer put up a jib and calmly resume her course; she had mistaken us for a Spanish fishing-boat.

A blank, an *awful* silence, succeeded her departure. Even Miller, the young sailor whose cheerfulness had hitherto buoyed us up, even *he* was dumb, and his face assumed a ghastly, ashen hue. At last he, like all of us, found himself confronted with death. One of the second-class passengers—a big, rough man, in butcher-boots—now rose, and with frightful oaths and imprecations pushed his way amongst us. Thrusting us violently aside, and taking his seat at the very end of the boat, he was followed by two boys, nearly mad with fear; indeed, one of them, who was quite insane, clung to Colonel Keith, gibbering and shuddering—his eyes were turned in his head, and he presented a most awful, horrible spectacle. The other and elder lay rolling in the bottom of the boat, tearing his jacket with his teeth and apparently stark mad. I was just as afraid of these frantic fellow-sufferers as of the great, green, hungry sea that was waiting to swallow me. The boat now made several rolls, as if preparatory to sinking. At each successive roll we expected to go over; at

length she gave one tremendous lurch, and we were all instantly struggling in the water. It was well for me *now* that I had learnt to swim. Colonel Keith and I struck out for the open, and had a narrow escape of being dragged down by the drowning.

How awful it was! There were fellow-creatures drowning all around us. Colonel Keith had a life-belt and I had an oar, and so we managed to keep ourselves afloat. We saw the boat righted, and the survivors—alas! how few, scramble in; but as we knew that she would probably capsize again, we made no attempt to return to her, but remained in the water, now floating on a wave, now in the trough of the sea. This continued for two mortal hours—hours that seemed days. With agonised earnestness I endeavoured to pray; no connected prayer could I remember. I dreaded with unspeakable horror the hand of death—the last agony. Oh, that it was over! oh, that I was already dead! Where would I be then? where would I be within the next half hour? “God help me!” was all I could ejaculate, as my mind took in the frightful reality of my position—that the time I had to live might now be counted by *minutes*, and that the sands of my life were ebbing fast.

Colonel Keith's mind ran very much on his pension, and he seemed to find some relief in uttering his thoughts aloud.

“At any rate she'll have four hundred pounds a year and the insurance money. They ought to make it double for *this*,” I heard him mutter. “Only fifty-one my last birthday; it's a bad business—a bad business.” Then very loud to me, “Keep up, Miss Neville; what's your name?”

“Nora!” I gasped with chattering teeth.

“Keep up, Nora! Never give in. ‘Whilst there's life there's hope.’”

With such-like little speeches he would encourage me from time to time; but at last I ceased to make any response. My limbs were so cold and so cramped, I had lost almost all power over them. I could not “keep up” much longer. It was no good!

“Colonel Keith,” I said, “good-bye! I'm going to throw up my arms and go down. I cannot hold out any longer!” I had said I would sooner *die* than marry Maurice—how soon I had been taken at my word! “Good-bye, Colonel Keith!” I cried, now utterly exhausted and worn out. I had risen on the crest of a wave as I said this, and at that instant I descried the mast of a ship! Again we were buried in a hollow; but when next we rose on a wave, she looked quite *close*. The fog lifted at that moment, and I could distinctly see a small steamer rapidly coming straight in our direction,

“Scream *now*, if ever you screamed!” shouted Colonel Keith frantically.

I needed no second bidding. I did scream! I screamed with all the strength of despair. I screamed so that I was *heard*. In another instant the engines were slackened, and we saw someone on the bridge waving his hat.

Oh, happy moment, shall I ever forget you! I knew that we were *saved*!

Freely as we have quoted, we fear, that, in searching for what, as far as possible, should be self-contained, we have missed much of what is best.

That Mrs. Croker has her limitations, will be readily understood by those who have followed us so far.

Not only, as we have already hinted, does she deal with no great problems of religion or politics, of psychology or of society, but the collision of classes finds no illustration in her pages. Her plots, indeed, hardly carry us outside the bounds of one particular social stratum, and are mainly concerned with one section of that particular social stratum. Her heroes and heroines are, for the most part, military men and the wives and daughters of military men. As to the great unwashed, they exist for her mainly as subserving the wants of these, menially or otherwise. There are touches, however, in her

pages which show that her sympathies are 'much broader than her choice of subject-matter might seem to imply; and we are probably not mistaken in thinking that that choice is largely due to the accident of her long residence in India.

Within the limits she has set herself, she exhibits, on the other hand, a fulness and accuracy of knowledge which contrasts very strikingly with that shown by the average novelist of the day; and this fulness and accuracy extends to some matters that are generally supposed to be monopolies of the sterner sex, such as shooting and racing and other kinds of sport, which figure prominently in her books. Her descriptions of native life, too, though they do not go much beyond externals, and though the atmosphere is not always quite right, show a remarkable degree of receptivity; while one pleasant feature of her handling of such subjects is its entire freedom from all taint of contempt, and the evidence it affords of an ever-abiding sense of the oneness of humanity, under whatever garb, or in whatever colour.

Having said so much in praise of Mrs. Croker's merits, we have now to discharge the less pleasant task of pointing out her defects.

The most conspicuous of these are weakness of construction and a certain maladroitness of invention. Her construction is too often marked by redundancy, by want of compactness and concentration of purpose, and by a disregard of the laws of dramatic effect. She is constantly introducing events which seem to point forward, but eventually lead to nothing, and are left on one side, whether as memorials of an abandoned purpose, or as mere meaningless adjuncts, having no organic connexion, structural or ornamental, with the central edifice.

The episode of the buried treasure in the earlier part of "Diana Barrington" furnishes a striking instance of this disregard of the law of economy, while the closing chapters of the work show a no less striking violation of the law of climax. As to the former, not only is it absolutely unessential to the working out of the story,—for, though it is made, in an indirect and awkward way, to lead up to the death of Mr. Barrington, there were a hundred-and-one less elaborate and artificial ways in which this could have been brought about,—but it is the reverse of ornamental, inasmuch as it is distinctly melodramatic and out of harmony with the whole tone of the book. As to the latter, the five concluding chapters, which follow Mrs. Fitzroy's attack of brain fever at Bombay and conclude the book, constitute an inexcusable anti-climax, which, had the general interest of the story been less than it is, would have ruined, and, as it is, seriously impairs, it. Whatever was necessary in the way of denouement should have been effected—and it could easily have been effected—and the

curtain should have come down sharp, after her recovery of consciousness.

To spin out five chapters over the recovery, and the impossible situation of a restoration to the husband's home unaccompanied by a restoration to his confidence ; and above all, to introduce an entirely new character at this stage of the story, was about as wrong-headed an attempt to wreck an otherwise excellent book as we remember to have met with in the whole course of fiction.

That the author was hopelessly, if unconsciously, weighed down by the consequences of her mistake, will be transparent to any one who reads these chapters and compares them with what has gone before.

The maladroitness of invention to which we refer, is, perhaps, a less serious matter, for it generally takes the form of an improbability about which there may be differences of opinion among readers ; and which, moreover, readers are generally ready to overlook if the story is as interesting as most of Mrs. Croker's are. It also finds an illustration in the novel just mentioned. The oath which Diana took not to disclose Mrs. Vavasour's secret, even to her husband, was extorted from her by that lady in a moment of extreme terror, and, as the sequel showed, under the influence of the most sordid motives. All that it was necessary for Diana to do to clear herself, in her husband's eyes, from the most damning circumstances, and when the penalty was the worst that a wife can suffer, was to confide in him. That one person in the story, and that person Diana, should have entertained so quixotic a sense of the obligation imposed on her by such an oath, as to accept her doom rather than divulge the truth, is well enough within the bounds of probability to be permissible. But when it comes to her appealing to her husband in the matter and offering to disclose the truth that will re-unite them, if he bids her speak, and he, without a word of enquiry, calmly says :— "No—never—your word is sacred," the strain put on the reader's sense of the probable is altogether too great.

Captain Fitzroy was a man of high honour, it is true ; but he was also a man of the world. He must have known that there are circumstances under which an oath is binding, and circumstances under which it is not binding ; and, whatever his ultimate decision might have been, he would at least have paused to make some sort of enquiry into the circumstances under which his wife's oath had been taken, before arriving at it.

The entanglement in "A Bird of Passage," again, turns upon what, to our mind, is an even more improbable incident. Lisle, the hero, a man of the world—engaged to a girl with whom he is deeply in love, and of whom he has the highest

opinion—is persuaded to desert her, *without seeking an explanation*, by a man whom he knows to be a vain coxcomb, addicted to breaking girls' hearts, or trying to break them, out of sheer vanity; and whom he also knows to be jealous of him, telling him that he is engaged to her, and, in proof of the assertion, showing him a ring which he pretends to have received from her hands in token of the engagement; the ring, it should be added, being one which Lisle himself had given to the girl shortly before. As a matter of fact, the ring had been obtained by this man through the girl's *ayah*, whom he had bribed to steal it for him for the express purpose of convincing Lisle that she had been fooling him. In the sequel, long years afterwards, the girl having gone through much humiliation and suffering in the interval, the misunderstanding is cleared up. The possibility of a sane man acting as Lisle is described as acting, and abandoning the girl upon such evidence, without a question asked, is, it may be admitted, conceivable; but the combination of credulity and want of faith displayed by him, is, at all events an error of art of a very grave kind, as being nicely calculated to rob him of the reader's sympathy.

In "Interference," some of the critics have found a similar fault with George Holroyd's decision. Here, we think, there is more room for difference of opinion. But there are other improbabilities in the way in which the story is subsequently worked out—the fact, for instance, of Betty, under all the circumstances, not only coming to live in the neighbourhood of the Holroyds, but becoming their guest.

In "Pretty Miss Neville" improbabilities of this kind are avoided; but the author shows a want of inventive fertility in having recourse to the hackneyed device of a missent letter to enable Miss Neville to get rid of her engagement to Major Percival.

It remains to speak of Mrs. Croker's style, which, without possessing distinction, is generally above the average. It is marked, however, by blemishes which a very little care would enable her to avoid—such as the use of the adjective "like" as a conjunction; the coupling of unlike cases by a conjunction, as in "he was my dear confidant and adviser—a kind of medium between father and Peggy, more sympathetic than *him*, more intellectual than *her*;" a general neglect of the subjunctive mood, as in "as if it *was* with painful difficulty that he restrained, etc.," (followed, curiously enough, a few lines further on, by "as if he *were* taking, etc.).; inconsistencies of construction like that in "Society *was* obliged to classify the stranger for *themselves*;" and a tendency, in narrative passages, to oscillate, in a somewhat confusing manner, between the past tense and the present. The use of the first person in a long story is, in any

case, a course full of pitfalls for the unwary ; but when, in addition to this, the writer adopts the present tense, the ground becomes so treacherous, that only a practised equilibrist can hope to get over it in safety. Both the grammar and the psychology of sentences like the following are a little bewildering :—

"Hitherto I *had been* tolerably contented with my lot, but this drowsy, sultry afternoon, my idle thoughts *have* wandered into unusual channels, and I sit alone, etc."

"Between gossiping, scolding, tea-drinking and managing-her-fellow-creatures, Mrs. Magee *seems* to get a good deal of enjoyment out of life ; and this *was* one of the new ideas that *flashed* through my gloomy mind."

"Morally I *had been* trained to speak the truth, etc.," followed immediately by, "with regard to my accomplishments, I *cannot* say much for myself ; I *can* play chess, I *can* sew and darn, etc."

"He was ashamed to own, even in his inmost heart, that, mingled with all this felicity, there *is* a secret dread, etc."

These, however, are slight and easily removable defects, which detract but little from the general excellence of Mrs Croker's work, and are likely to interfere still less with the interest of her readers.

ART. X—LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE PURI ADDRESS.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOT has spoken with no uncertain meaning in his reply to the address of the Municipal Commissioners of Puri. The Amended Municipal Bill has also shown that he is not afraid to tackle the abuses which have, within the last ten years, crept into the constitution of Bengal Municipalities. He has been denounced for this course of manly, straightforward action, as an enemy of Local Self-government and as the apostle of retrogression.

Now, let us see for a brief space whether action, such as that taken by the Lieutenant-Governor, is really retrogressive, or whether it is not a move in the direction of establishing Local Self-government on a sound and healthy basis.

From the transitory nature of life in India, an almost entirely new generation has sprung up since the introduction of Local Self-government in Bengal. Men have almost forgotten the state of things that prevailed before Lord Ripon's inopportune legislation turned every time-honoured institution in the country topsy-turvey. For the sake of those who do not remember things as they were, and for the purpose of better illustrating the difference between the present régime and that which it displaced, we shall briefly sketch things as they were before the so-called apostles of freedom caused the old order to change, giving place to new. Let us begin with Municipalities. In all towns the Magistrate was, as a rule, the Chairman. Where there was a Joint, or Assistant, Magistrate, he was Vice-Chairman, and in smaller districts, where Assistants were scarce, the Civil Surgeon usually acted in the latter capacity.

As Magistrate of a District, the Chairman had his hands generally pretty full. In the cold weather he was in camp, and, even when in the station, the time of Magistrate and Collector is, generally speaking, pretty well occupied, so that the executive duties of the Chairman of Municipalities generally devolved on the Vice-Chairman. In most stations the Municipality was the chief executive work which a Joint Magistrate had to do. His days were generally spent in Cutcherry, but his mornings were devoted to the Municipality. Thus, for every town in the Mofussil, there were available the services of a young officer at a time of life when his energies were at their best, before hope deferred had made his heart sick, and, when the importance of having one branch of the administration under his control inspired him with an enthusiastic desire that the working of that branch at any rate should be a success.

There was hardly then a town in Bengal where the roads were not looked after and where sanitation was not enforced to the fullest extent that the funds available allowed. Every morning, a ride round the town began the day for the young Assistant; out-door work was supervised and not allowed to be scamped. Unsavoury trenching grounds were periodically inspected, and open violations of the laws of health and decency were visited with prompt punishment. Carts were not allowed to block up the thoroughfares whilst their drivers went away to indulge in a quiet smoke, or to dream of their peaceful village homes amid the noise of the city's din. With this active supervision over the daily executive work of the Municipalities was combined, what we would venture to call, real Self-government. The Chairman was assisted by a body of Commissioners who had the fullest voice in the distribution and levying of Municipal funds. These men were *nominated* not *elected*. This, in the eyes of Radical reformers, was a crying sin against preconceived notions of freedom. The sneer against "*ap-ké-wasté*" opinions was set up, and the old Municipal institutions were doomed to destruction by the men who could leave no existing institution alone.

We have now, thanks to the exertions of these apostles of freedom got, in place of Municipalities constituted as we have described, the following parody on English corporations: A body of Commissioners *elected* (save the mark) by the suffrages of a free and enlightened body of burgesses; a non-official Chairman and a non-official Vice-Chairman. Under the unamended law, the Lieutenant-Governor has a voice in sanctioning the election of the Chairman. He has, however, no power of veto over the election of the real executive power in a Municipality, the Vice-Chairman. That anomaly will disappear under the proposed amendments to the Municipal Act.

Let us first compare the advantages of the system of nomination with those of a system of election. In all our comparisons we are taking our stand on the advantage derived by the rate-payer, and on that only.

Under the system of nomination, it may be freely conceded that men were nominated as Municipal Commissioners by the Magistrate. The ultimate order was that of the Local Government, but, in very few instances, did either the Lieutenant-Governor, or the Commissioners, interfere with the nomination sent up by the Magistrate. Now, unless a Magistrate were either a very senseless person, or the incarnation of despotism, which some people believe every official to be, he would associate with himself men who would be likely to bring to the discussion of matters municipal something more than the mere power of saying: "*Huzúr ki rai.*" As a matter

of fact,—and in this we challenge contradiction,—he sent up the names of men who commanded the respect of their fellow-townsmen, whose interests in the well-being of the Municipality were based upon the ownership of property in the place, and on the fact of having a number of the poorer rate-payers dependent on them. In every Municipality throughout the land (the exceptions being very few and far between) the Municipal Commissioners, as a fact, worked on Ward and other Committees. They examined the accounts and very strenuously opposed the imposition of rates of the desirability of which they were not convinced. They were not called upon to supervise the metalling of roads, nor did they do so. They shrank from any inspections the nature of which rendered them duties which no person would undertake as a pure matter of choice. Work of this description was done by the Vice-Chairman, who considered it as much part of the work for which he was paid, as holding cutcherry, or visiting the sick, as the case might be. The taint of nomination was, however, on the Commissioners. The obnoxious Magistrate had the power of appointing them ; so the spirit of interference which prompted the Ilbert Bill decreed their destruction, and they passed away, condemned as relics of barbarism, or, what is synonymous with barbarism to some minds, as relics of paternal government. In their place we have an *elected* body of Commissioners.

Before discussing the manner in which these gentlemen are *elected*, we should like to compare the work done by them as *Commissioners* with that done by their predecessors. It is evident to anyone who has taken the trouble to go round any town in Bengal, that Commissioners do not, as a rule, spend much of their time in amateur road making. A person curious in sanitation might also inspect a trenching ground without running the risk of meeting an elected Commissioner bound on a tour of inspection. People can also defile tanks, or outrage decency, without the fear of an eagle eye detecting their misdoings. In these respects, therefore, they have not done any more than those whose office they have taken. In meetings, however, it may be granted that they talk a good deal more than the old Commissioners were used to do. Recruited, as a rule, from the pleader class, talking comes naturally to them, and the time occupied in debate, as contrasted with that taken up by the meetings of the old Commissioners (when at least the Chairman and Vice-Chairman had some other work to do), is either a speaking comment on their devotion to duty entailing a great encroachment on the time that would otherwise be devoted to their own business, or a corroboration of the idea that has got abroad, that they have no lucrative business to which their time would otherwise be devoted. This idea

has been rightly or wrongly set on foot, especially with regard to pleaders. It has been said that those who seek election are not those, as a rule, who are besieged by clients, or who tear themselves away from the Civil Courts, leaving clients lamenting their departure, from a high souled devotion to public duty.

In some Municipalities clerks in Government offices figure largely amongst the elected. Well, in their case the task of delivering an impassioned oration on the woe of some man who has been threatened with a prosecution for keeping his drain in a filthy state, is after all a variety from the monotony of examining rows of figures in a return.

It would be interesting to find out, and, we think that some return might be given, as to the occupations of those gentlemen who seek election. We are, we think, not very far astray in dividing them into three main heads: Pleaders, Government Clerks, and Schoolmasters. Can they be said adequately to represent the interests of tradespeople, the poor, or the independent gentry in our various Mofussil Municipalities?

The electors themselves show very clearly how far the election principle has permeated the people. There is scarcely a Municipality in the country in which anything like a reasonable proportion of the electorate records its vote. It is a humiliating fact that the average rate-payer in our towns knows nothing of, and cares less for, the privilege of a vote. If he votes at all, it is because he happens to be near the polling-place, or has come there led by some other inducement than that involved in the privilege of exercising his rights as a free and independent citizen. Sometimes, it may be, there is a strong clique fighting one still stronger, in which case both parties rally their friends and dependents around them, just as they would rally them to join in a rival procession, or as they would have done some years ago, to take part in a "*mari mar*," or faction fight. It is also not an unknown thing for some aspirant to Civil honours to make all sorts of extravagant promises, such as that, should he be elected, taxation will be reduced in the ward for which he seeks election; or, that a new era of freedom will dawn upon the community and practices be allowed to be carried on unchecked, which sanitary science tells us are at the root of all disease. In another place it may happen that a long-wished-for school (at which the sons of the *bhadra lok* will obtain an almost gratuitous English education) will be promised by the aspirant for election, and so on, even, as we have been told, down to the distribution of sweetmeats. Some reason must be given to the counterpart in this country of the English rate-payer, to induce him to exercise the proud privilege of the franchise.

Not to put too fine a point upon it; the elective system is a farce. It is not even an educating factor amongst the people. It has replaced a system whereby a number of men, with a stake in the town, were brought together by, at any rate, a disinterested official. These men, with his advice, the outcome of varied experience, and guidance in matters of which no amateur could possibly have experience, deliberated on the affairs of the Municipality which they *represented*, although they were not elected in the manner which we have described. Were the results of this so-called elective system good, one word could not be said against it. But from Arrah, in the extreme north-west of the province, to Puri, on the sea coast, everything we read is a repetition of the same sickening tale. Stations, the roads of which, under the old system, were kept in order and repaired after well-considered methods, have, in many instances, perhaps, one new pucca road to which the Municipal Commissioners point with pride, whilst the many old roads, that were periodically repaired and always kept in something like order, are now masses of jutting bricks with the soling of the road exposed. Here and there a showy piece of work, such as a Town Hall or a School, is flashed upon the eyes of the public, who are called upon to stand open-mouthed and admire the enterprise of the Commissioners who have endowed their town with this noble monument of their public spirit. While they shout their plaudits, however, the bystanders may perhaps think, with a sigh, that their roads are morasses in the rains and dustheaps in the cold weather; that their tanks are, in many instances, pools of liquid sewage; that the funds by which health and comfort are supposed to be secured are often uncollected, and almost always assessed in an arbitrary and unsystematic method; and may have a thought of wistful regret for the days when things were different.

The rate-payer merely grumbles; what more can he do? He does not think it an extraordinary thing that certain people are let off lightly, whilst others get but a small measure of leniency. It is what he was accustomed to in other transactions of life, and now that the *Sirkar* has given up interfering in the "*Kommittee*," he accepts what he knows he has to expect.

It is a matter for congratulation that the Amended Bill deals with the question of assessments. We imagine that the restoration of a *say* in assessments to the Magistrate of the District will not be altogether unwelcome to the "down-trodden millions" of our towns whom the professors of the new cult have so ostentatiously taken under their wing.

Thus it will be seen that the elected Commissioners have not improved matters as far as the material comfort of

the dwellers in our towns is concerned. We do not for a moment say that, had the nominated Commissioners been left entirely to themselves, things under their régime would have been any better. It is not in the nature of the people of this country to do the work which must be done if towns are to be kept clean and roads maintained at a high degree of utility. They do not do it in their own private concerns, and how, in the name of common sense, can they be expected to change their nature when they become elected Commissioners? Punch's old saying, "If you want a thing done, do it yourself," is as far removed from the head of an ordinary Bengali as is the appreciation of a well-done beefsteak. His motto is: "Never do anything for yourself that you can get any one to do for you," and this trait is not confined to the well-to-do classes. How many of us have had our temper ruffled when, on giving an order to a servant to do something, we hear him call somebody else, who probably invokes yet another, to carry out the order. In any piece of private work, such as building a wall or a culvert, in which a native is interested, you do not see him standing over his workmen and directing operations. There are as many links of sub-infeudation between him and the labourer as there are between a Backerganj Zemindar and the tiller of the soil. It is only when the money comes to be paid, or part of it to be retrenched (especially in the latter case), that he is all there, yet those who wished to get rid of official *influence*, as they stigmatised the hard, honest work done under the old system by paid officials, calmly expect that the ordinary native Commissioner will, because he is part of the new Local Self-government system, at once change his nature and supervise work after the manner of a land steward in England. Nay, some will even assert that their expectations are more than fulfilled. But under the old system the Municipal Commissioners were neither called upon, nor expected, to supervise actively the executive of the Municipality. People to whose hands the well-being and cleanliness of towns were entrusted, and who felt themselves more or less responsible for the Municipality at their head-quarters, had, what we suppose would now be termed, old fashioned ideas. They *knew* the people amongst whom they lived and worked. With this knowledge they were perfectly aware that it was unreasonable to expect, that gentlemen who had their own business to attend to, would neglect it for the purpose of going out of a morning in the rains, we will say, to see that the Municipal coolies were not scamping their work in regard to putting down metal on a road. They did not expect a well-to-do native gentleman to order his carriage and drive off to see that the latrine arrangements

were in good order. They did ask him occasionally to audit accounts, and they were not often met with a refusal; nor was the work of the audit done perfunctorily, as a rule. In a question of appeal against an assessment, they asked the opinion of the Commissioner, as being likely to know the circumstances of the people about his quarter. The Commissioners were invariably consulted as to large schemes connected with expenditure, or upon any change contemplated in making new drains or roads. They were not, however, asked to undertake for the Municipality what they would give another person to do for themselves. Perhaps that was the reason why, although the country was groaning under official thralldom, the roads, which are now going into ruin, were made and kept in order; and people could go through the streets of most of the towns without being assailed by sickening smells. However, so it was. If not *post hoc, igitur propter hoc*—things were more comfortable for the rate-payer when the Vice-Chairman was an official who looked upon his work as Vice-Chairman as part of his daily duty, and took the same interest in it as he did in the rest of his day's work.

The warmth of the sun-burst of freedom over Bengal has, however, in scorching up this official tyranny, hatched a new kind of Chairman and Vice-Chairman for Municipalities in the Province. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman are both chosen from among the elected Commissioners. By a strange oversight, which we trust soon to see amended, the election of the Chairman alone required the sanction of Government; whilst that of the Vice-Chairman was absolute by the vote of his fellow Commissioners. As in the case of the Chairman Magistrate, so it has been in the case of the non-official Chairman. The real power and work devolve upon the Vice-Chairman, so that the man who is the absolute executive head of the Municipality is the man over whose appointment Government has no control.

This was a surrender with a vengeance of all power into the hands of the chosen of the people. Those of ourselves who have had any experience in the Mofussil, will, doubtless, form their own conclusions as to how the transfer of the executive of Municipalities from a responsible official to a non-official absolutely responsible to no outside authority has worked. They have seen the outward and visible signs of it. We should like to have an honest plebiscite of the rate-payers as to how *they* feel themselves under their newly-acquired freedom. We have shown that under the old régime impossibilities were not expected from Commissioners. The fact of a man's having a seat on the Board was not thought in itself enough to change his nature, and the executive work of Municipalities was done by men

trained to habits of business and responsible to the Government which they served, for the due performance of that work. Now we have two non-official gentlemen who have never had any training in office work to speak of, and absolutely none whatever in out-door supervision. These gentlemen are not only expected to see that roads are properly made and kept up ; that drains are not choked with the sweepings of houses ; that their neighbours, by whose suffrages they claim their right to their position, do not bathe in and otherwise defile the public tanks, which is to them the most loathsome task of all ; that latrines and other offensive places are kept in such order as will ensure the maintenance of the public health.

Who are the men on whose untrained shoulders this burden is laid ? In many, if not in most cases, pleaders. These gentlemen have, if they have any business by which they live, to spend their mornings in interviewing their clients. We all know what that means in this country. But a poor chance of success would that pleader have who was not ready to listen to long-winded accounts of the wrongs of the client who sought his aid. There is nothing in this country like the short and expeditious practice whereby a barrister need never see the face of his client; no, he must sit patiently and listen, if not to the client himself, at least to his mukhtear. His day is spent in the Court, so that he has no time whatever to give to the supervision of out-door work. The few minutes he can spare for office work renders the position of the Municipal clerk one of much greater importance than it was in the days when Municipal freedom was unknown. The pleader in practice, therefore, is not, we submit, a fitting person to be saddled with these onerous duties.

We would rather not enlarge upon the consequences of a man who has failed to make a living by his profession taking up an office involving the responsibilities which that of a Vice-Chairman of a Municipality carries with it, as would be the case were that officer a pleader who had no business of his own. Similarly with regard to business men, though we very seldom see them ornamenting the Committee. All business in this country is transacted in the early morning, and the day time is devoted to repose. In this connexion we do not allude to the large towns, where there may be a number of men of leisure who have retired, it may be, from the active life of their professions, and where there is a strong and enlightened public opinion to keep matters straight. Most of these towns have a well-paid executive staff, and they can be safely left to all the enjoyment which Local Self-government can give them. Our remarks are *à propos* of the scores of small Municipalities scattered all over the country. It is really marvellous how the craze for crystallising the ideas of those who followed the

cult of Lord Ripon, has been allowed to give up town after town in the Mofussil to be the *corpus vile* on which the experiment of Local Self-government was to have full swing.

There was a man once well known in Dublin who was supposed to be blind, and who used to frequent Stephen's Green with a dog which begged for coppers. An energetic and high souled young constable caught him one day, taking a quiet look at the illustrated papers in a shop window, and at once ran him in 'for obtaining money under false pretences.' The Magistrate asked him what he meant by pretending to be blind and so deluding the public into giving him charity. He unblushingly answered: "Your Honour, I never pretended to be blind to deceive people, but my thrade is thrainin' dogs for blind men, and if I did not let on to be blind, there would be no dealin' with the dogs at all."

"Well, Mr. Brigg," said the Magistrate, "you have been, to my knowledge, for a long time training that dog." "I have, God help me, sir," was the reply, "for the thrade is mighty slack these days."

His answer ensured his release, but the Magistrate did not, we imagine, contemplate blinding a number of people in order to ensure a scope for Mr. Brigg's abilities as a trainer of dogs for blind men. Here in Bengal, however, by the wholesale extension of the elective system throughout the Mofussil, we have not only blinded, but have maimed, the executive of our towns in order to train people in the art of guiding the Municipal bodies in a straight course. It is not to be wondered at, that the result which generally attends an effort of the 'blind to lead the blind,' has attended this ill-advised experiment.

That Local Self-government, when properly guided and directed, need not be a failure, is shown by the measure of success which has attended the work of District Boards. In these as yet no attempt has been made to relegate the communications of the country to the charge of amateurs. A large measure of power has been given to these bodies, and we read of but few instances in which it has been abused, or put to a wrong use. The reason of this is that the Magistrate is still the guiding power of the District Board, and, as long as a Magistrate takes an active interest in the roads and communications of his district, the Board does not, as a rule, seek to obstruct him. The Board, too, are not elected; they are chosen by the Magistrate from amongst residents of the district who have an interest in the up-keep of roads and bridges. The members of the District Board do not, any more than did the old nominated Commissioners, take an active part in the supervision of the actual work carried on; but then no Magistrate, with common

sense in his head, expects, or wishes them to do so: That is the province of the District Engineer and his overseers. The Board, however, makes suggestions and brings forward needs which might otherwise be passed unnoticed.

We do not for a moment say that the District Boards have been an unmixed success. They have, as all newly-constituted bodies must naturally do, made mistakes of interfering now and then, but, as a rule, they are learning their work and are not obstructive. In time they will come to understand where their interference is legitimate and where it becomes merely perverse. District Boards have in them the germ of education in the art of Self-government. In no district do we hear of the place going utterly to rack and ruin since the institution of District Boards. They have also the advantage over Municipalities in not being amateur assessors and tax-gatherers. It is true that they have much to learn in the way of sanitary science, but so has the whole country. The bad smells of a district are, however, widely diffused, and there is plenty of air to blow them away, and although they are objectionable, they have not the deadly effect that foul air concentrated in a town exercises on the health of those who have to dwell within its walls. District Boards, therefore, have within themselves the germs of success. It remains to be seen how Local Self-government, as applied to Municipalities, can be made to fulfil the promise of educating the people in the art of self-government.

The experience of the last ten years has shown us how not to do it, and the sooner the policy of those ten years is modified, the sooner we shall get on the right track. We are far from advocating anything like a sweeping change which would entirely reverse the policy which is pleasing to a large number of the people. We have, in all good faith, harnessed a pair of horses to a coach. Because, at the first start, they have bolted off the road, is no reason why we should shoot them, or take them out of harness altogether. We have to get to our journey's end with them, and the sooner we break them into working steadily in the traces the better.

Now this is exactly to what Sir Charles Elliot's action with regard to the Puri Municipality tends. He has seen a town utterly given over to destruction by the action of Commissioners who have been tried and found wanting. He has very properly announced his intention of re-forming the Municipal body that has so neglected its duties, if it does not take the initiative of reforming itself. He has provided for the power of doing so by the clauses in the Amended Bill which give to Government the power of removing a Municipality from the schedule of those in which the Chairman need not be an official, to that in which it is essential that the Chairman must be nominated

by Government, or, in other words, be the District Magistrate. Those who see in this action hostility to Local Self-government must be singularly short-sighted. It is as though a man were denounced as an enemy to Railway travelling who removed a child from the uncontrolled charge of a locomotive. Nothing could better illustrate what has hitherto been done. A number of doubtless well-meaning persons formed the idea that the health and well-being of towns could be entrusted to anyone whom the people might choose. They forgot, as Mr. Munro warned them at the time, that to have a democracy you must first have a demos. They assumed the existence of the demos and conferred upon it the franchise. The experience of a decade has surely taught the most enthusiastic advocate of Local Self-government, that the franchise has been given to people who are absolutely ignorant of its uses and perfectly unappreciative of the power which has been conferred upon them. It must have taught people that Municipal work can no more be done by amateurs than any other work in the course of daily experience. It is time, therefore, that the lesson given at Puri should be repeated elsewhere, and that most of our Municipalities should be included in Schedule II. and kept there until such time as the people have learnt the lesson that Englishmen began to learn in the days of King Alfred and have not wholly mastered yet.

If the people of this country are ever to be taught the lesson of Local Self-government, they must learn it, as all lessons have to be learnt, by time and patience. Nothing is learnt by intuition which requires practical experience, and the lesson of governing a Municipality is no exception to the rule. We would ask those who earnestly believe in educating their countrymen in Civil government, to give a calm and reasonable consideration to the results of the last ten years, and to say whether the experiment which has been tried has been a success or a failure. There is nothing humiliating in a confession that the task of amateur Municipal government is one beyond the powers of men who have had no training whatever in business habits. If they are sincere in their professions of wishing to see their countrymen rendered fit to govern themselves, they must see that a training in the rudiments of the art is at least a *sine quâ non*. This training can be obtained only, as our District Boards are obtaining it, by working under the guidance of a man who has nothing to lose by doing his duty and nothing to gain by neglecting it. The day has gone by, if ever it existed, when Magistrates could do the extraordinary things which we are told they used to do. The Railway, the Telegraph, and the Press have caused a fierce light to beat upon

the throne in the most remote district of the Province. The times, too, have changed, and no man would attempt now to exercise over a public body any thing like an arbitrary despotism even of a benevolent order. There can be, therefore, nothing retrogressive in putting back the team until such time as it is trained to draw the coach. On the contrary, it is the essence of all advancement to make sure of our ground before we go on. Each step taken in advance will then be so much gained ; it will not be at the risk of floundering and bungling in a morass of difficulties such as that in which the too rapid development of Local Self-government has landed many of our Mofussil Municipalities. A policy of *festina lentè* is now what is required, instead of rushing at a so-called freedom, which is, after all, but

Freedom free to slay herself ;
And dying whilst they shriek her name.

ART. XI.—JEWISH SLAVERY.

SLAVERY, as defined in Roman Law,* was "an institution of the law of nations, by which one man is made the property of another contrary to natural right." As the owner of his slave, the master had a right to the use of his slave and to every thing which he acquired : and the right of destroying him. On the terrible power last mentioned, "no legal check seems to have been placed," says Hunter, "until the Empire."† Under the Emperors, which means after the Christian Era, successive attempts were made to throw around the slave the shield of law. But his condition before these ameliorating measures and at about the time that Christ was born, is thus graphically, yet without exaggeration, described by the uncompromising pen of Canon Farrar : "At the lowest extreme of the social scale were millions of slaves, without family, without religion, without possessions, who had no recognized rights, and towards whom none had any recognized duties, passing normally from a childhood of degradation to a manhood of hardship and an old age of unpitied neglect." In a foot-note, he cites, from the Annals of Tacitus, the fact that "in a debate on the murder of Pedanius Secundus, many eminent senators openly advocated the brutal law that, when a master was murdered, his slaves, often to the number of hundreds, should be put to death." Indeed, the law was put in force in this very case, by the execution of 400 slaves.

Among the Greeks, in the age of Homer, all prisoners of war were liable to be treated as slaves. Philip of Macedon, having conquered Thebes, sold his captives. Alexander, after razing that city to the ground, sold the inhabitants—men, women and children—as slaves.

We have thus glanced, though very briefly, at Roman and Greek slavery in order to facilitate comparison between the institution as it obtained in the civilized countries of the Old World, and the same institution as it existed among the Jews and under the law of Moses.

There is scarcely any institution of ancient times so little understood in these days as that of slavery among the Hebrews. Its features were so peculiar as to differentiate it in a marked way from both ancient slavery and the curse of modern times—African slavery. The subject seems worthy of study, not only in justice to the Mosaic legislation, but as an

* Justinian's Institutes, Lib. I, Tit. 3, Sec. 2.

† Hunter's Roman Law, page 13.

unique phenomenon in history. As in the case of polygamy, Moses found slavery an existing custom and fenced it round with restrictions, calculated, if not to secure its final extinction, yet to neutralize its evils.

Our first remark in regard to Israelitish slavery would be that it did not owe its existence to man-stealing. This fundamental fact is worthy of special notice, for it distinguishes that institution, most significantly, from the modern iniquity, known as the African slave-trade, which was the source of the supply of slaves to the British possessions in the West Indies and the United States of America in the days when slavery existed. The foreign trade in Negroes originated in man-stealing of the most atrocious character, whereas man-stealing was an offence capitally punishable by the law of Moses. And it was an offence, not only when an Israelite was the person stolen, but in any case, whosoever might be the victim. Whether the thief sold him, or retained him in his own hands, he was, in either case, condemned to death. "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."—Exodus XXI., 16.

This source, then, of slavery, was utterly unknown to the institutes of Moses. Indeed, strictly speaking, and looking, not at terms merely, but at the nature of the thing signified, there is nothing like slavery among the Jews in the sense of *property in the slave*. The right of his owner was not to his being—his soul —, but only to his labour (Lev. XXV., 46). He was a *bond-servant*; not a chattel, but a person. Unlike the serf of feudal times, he was not attached to the soil, so as to pass with it, as the wood and the mines did: he was a member, though in a subordinate position, of the owner's family. Unlike the slave under the Slave Code of the United States, who, as being a piece of property, had no personal rights, the Jewish slave was protected by the law against personal injury, and had personal rights of a very substantial kind, which he could assert with great effect against his master under certain circumstances. Unlike the slave under the Roman law, who, though called a "person," could not possess property, but was himself, with all he could acquire, the property of his owner. The Jewish slave could acquire property for himself and purchase his freedom. He was ingrafted into his master's family, and, on failure of issue to his master, the Jewish slave was competent to inherit that master's property—as in the case of Eliezer of Damascus, the steward of the patriarch Abraham.

Although the Jews were permitted to buy bondsmen of the heathen, or of the strangers sojourning among them, the permission was hedged round by injunctions having regard to the welfare of such bondsmen, *e.g.*: "Thou shalt neither vex a

stranger. nor oppress him ;" and "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in Egypt." He was to be loved as a native Israelite : "But the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself."

Moreover, although the Jews were permitted to buy bondsmen from the heathen (Lev. XXV., 44), there is no provision in the Mosaic Law for the *sale of a bondsman to the heathen*, or the sale of any one into foreign slavery ; nor does it appear that this was ever done, except in the case of Joseph, which was a flagitious outrage upon social custom. The difference was obvious. The purchase of a slave from the heathen meant bringing him into the Commonwealth, or kingdom of Israel, that is to say, out of the polluting atmosphere of idolatry into a sphere where religious instruction was available ; the worship of the true God practised ; and also where the slave's rights as a man were recognized and his welfare was secured by the humane precepts of the Jewish Code.

What these humane precepts were, we shall presently see.

In Exodus XXI., 26, we read : "If a man smite the eye of a servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish ; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake." The same course is provided for the case of a broken tooth. These provisions clearly indicate the care which the law took to protect the servant against bodily injury. If the master were so unfeeling as to inflict, what our Indian Penal Code would call, grievous hurt, he would lose the services of his slave at once and for ever. Moreover, the provision which singles out the Jewish Slave Code as unique in its clemency, and as putting the crowning remedy to the rigour of slavery, was the one by which rendition of the fugitive slave was positively prohibited. In Deut. XXIII., 15, 16, we read : "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best (*Heb.* : where it is good for him) : thou shalt not oppress him."

This humane enactment placed the slave's remedy in his own hands. It said, in effect, to the slave-holder : "You must so behave to the slave as to make it his interest to remain in your service ; for, if you force him by ill-treatment to run away, you lose him for good." What a contrast does this afford to the crowning iniquity of American slavery, *viz.*, the Fugitive Slave Law, which, by compelling the rendition of the runaway slave, shut down the only safety-valve in the slave-system, and led ultimately to its bursting asunder.

That this liberty to flee from oppression secured good treatment for the bondsman, is evident from the contrasted

provision in Exodus XXI., which required the release, after six years, of a purchased Hebrew servant, *i. e.*, a bondsman of the dominant race. The law actually contemplated the man refusing his liberty when it was offered to him as his legal right. "If the servant shall plainly say : 'I love my master, my wife, and my children' [the case supposed being one in which the Hebrew servant had married a female slave belonging to his master who could not be allowed to go with her husband] 'I will not go out free ;' then his master shall bring him to the Judges ; he shall also bring him to the door, or to the door-post, and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him for ever."

Unless this enactment was a dead-letter on the Statute Book, which we have no reason to suppose to have been the case, the treatment of the slave must have been peculiarly kind, especially as the election to continue in slavery was made, not by a person born in slavery, but by a free-born Hebrew whose birthright was liberty. Moreover, even from the strangers permanently resident in the land of Israel, including the conquered nations and their descendants, slaves could be obtained only by purchase. No Israelite could take forcible possession of the children of the subject races. Paying the purchase-money gave him the right, as rights went in those days, to take his money's worth out of the slave in the form of bond service, or, which amounts to the same thing, to retain possession of his person so as to secure his labour. This right to the slave, not as a piece of property, but as one bound to render service, is, we take it, the true distinction between Jewish and all other slavery, and it may be traced in what may be regarded as the harshest feature of the institution, *viz.*, the provision found in Exodus XXI., 20 and 21 : "If a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished : notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, *for he is his money.*"

The words we have italicised, however repulsive they may appear, point, we think, to the fact that money was paid for the slave, and if the master were so regardless of his own interests as to beat him unmercifully, he would lose the equivalent of that money, in losing the slave's services. The risk of such loss was regarded by the law as sufficient security against the discipline of the rod being applied with fatal rigour. It may be objected that it seems very inconsistent to provide punishment for the master when the slave died under the rod, and to let him enjoy impunity when the slave survived the beating for a day or two. It seems to us, however, that the case is not exactly as here put. The master did not escape with impunity

when he lost his money's worth, the offence carrying its own punishment. Additional punishment was provided where the element of violent temper, or determination to kill, was evidenced by the man not stopping beating until the slave died. And the law implied more; for, if beating to death with a rod insured penalty, the use of a lethal instrument must *a fortiori* have brought a severer penalty.

The apparently unfeeling temper with which loss of money is regarded as a set-off against loss of life, must be viewed with reference to ancient notions. The early Saxons had fines for different degrees of murder, and the Brehon Law of Ireland went on the same lines. Moreover, in judging of Jewish slavery, we are bound, as in every other case, to regard it as a whole. It must not be made to stand, or fall, on a single provision, but with reference to its general scope and its entire character.

The Jewish slave had, in fact, all the rights of a man, save and except the right to the produce of his own labour. That right had been either voluntarily surrendered (Lev. XXV., 47), forfeited by debt (Lev. XXV., 39; 2 Kin. IV., 1), or acquired by conquest, or purchase. We have already dealt with the case of voluntary surrender, of which only one class of instances offers. Slavery by conquest was seen in the case of the subject nations, and our remarks have exhibited the condition of such bondsmen.

It remains only to glance at the case of forfeiture of liberty by debt, of which a notable instance occurred in the time of the prophet Elisha, and others in the days of Nehemiah, who resisted the oppressive use made of such a custom on the return of the Jews from Babylonish captivity. The principle of such bondage was in itself sufficiently fair. The man who could not, or would not, pay his debts, was obliged to work them out for the benefit of his creditor. The arrangement was fairness itself compared with the modern system of imprisoning for debt, which deprives the debtor of the means of earning money, and so leaves the creditor without the prospect of payment. There were no prisons in Judæa, or Samaria, where the debtor could be incarcerated for the time during which he was working off his debt, and, in default of any such provision, the creditor was empowered to compel him to serve. If only the State were entrusted with the function of exacting productive labour from the debtor for the benefit of the creditor, the ends of justice would be more substantially met than by the modern system (now happily on the wane) of imprisonment for debt.

We have thus endeavoured to show that Jewish slavery was unique in its character and superior to other well-known

forms of slavery. It did not originate in man-stealing. In regard to people of the Jew's own race, it merely took the form of compulsory labour to pay off a debt, and could not last beyond six years. It protected the slave in every case against oppressive and cruel treatment, and was associated, even in the case of foreign slaves, with injunctions to humane treatment, the Israelite being reminded of his own condition under Egyptian bondage. And though, recognizing the master's claim to get his money's worth of service out of the slave, it held him responsible for causing his death by violence, it regarded the bondsman as so much a part of his master's household as to be his heir on failure of issue. And, finally, it gave the slave liberty to escape where kind treatment did not secure his continuance at home—forbidding rendition and securing an asylum for the fugitive.

What we said in a former article* about the condition of the slave-wife (mis-called 'concubine') illustrates sufficiently our position that the Jewish slave was a part of his master's family; and the rights of female slaves, or female captives, were more carefully guarded by Moses than even those of males in like condition.

T. C. L.

*See article on "Jewish Polygamy," in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1891.

THE QUARTER.

THE past three months will long be remembered for the terrible mortality caused throughout Europe by the influenza epidemic, which, setting all known hygienic laws at defiance, has sought its prey indifferently in the cottages of the poor and the mansions of the rich, and which counts among its victims the Prince of Royal blood who stood second in the direct line of succession to the British Throne.

Over and above the sadness which necessarily belongs to such a calamity, a special pathos attaches to the untimely death of the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, from the fact that he was struck down on the very eve of a marriage which promised to be as happy as it was popular. On the 27th February, His Royal Highness was to have been united to the Princess Victoria Mary of Teck, commonly known as the Princess May, whose sterling English qualities had endeared her in a peculiar way to the nation, and the land was ringing with the notes of preparation for the glad event, when it was suddenly summoned to mourn over his grave.

His Royal Highness is reported to have first felt unwell immediately after attending the funeral of Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, on the 4th January. But very little importance seems to have been attached to these early symptoms; and on Wednesday, the 6th January, the Prince, in spite of the bitter weather prevailing, went out shooting. On the following day he was suffering from what seemed to be a severe cold, and on Friday, the 8th, he was so much worse that he was compelled to keep to his room, and was unable to attend the birthday dinner given in his honour in the evening. On Saturday, the 9th, his malady was pronounced to be influenza, complicated with pneumonia. The Bulletins of the following Monday were somewhat encouraging, and those of the next day still more so; but on Wednesday, the 13th, it was announced that symptoms of great gravity had supervened. That night the patient was somewhat better; but at 2 o'clock the next morning his strength suddenly failed, and he passed away at a quarter past nine, in the presence of the Prince and the Princess of Wales, who had been constant in their attendance at his bedside, Prince George, the Princess Louise and her husband, the Duke of Fife, the Princesses Victoria and Maude, the Duke and Duchess of Teck and Princess Victoria Mary of Teck.

On the 20th January, the body was removed from Sandringham, where the Prince died, to Windsor, where it was buried, in the Albert Memorial Chapel, the funeral service which was performed by the Dean of Windsor and the Bishop of Rochester, and which was marked by an absence of the usual symbols of mourning, being held in St. George's Chapel.

Court mourning was ordered for six weeks, and general public mourning for three weeks, from the 5th January; and memorial services were held throughout the country and in the principal cities of the continent.

A great public meeting, to adopt an Address of Condolence, was held in Calcutta on the 18th January, and meetings for the same purpose were held throughout the country.

On the 20th January the following official telegram was issued on behalf of the Prince and Princess of Wales:—

The Prince and Princess of Wales are anxious to express to her Majesty's subjects, whether in the United Kingdom, in the Colonies, or in India, the sense of their deep gratitude for the universal feeling of sympathy manifested towards them at a time when they are overpowered by the terrible calamity which they have sustained in the loss of their beloved eldest son. If sympathy at such a moment is of any avail, the remembrance that their grief has been shared by all classes will be a lasting consolation to their sorrowing hearts, and, if possible, will make them more than ever attached to their dear country.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *Jan. 20th, 1892.*

A week later the following touching letter from the Queen was received by the Home Department:—

“OSBORNE, *January 26th, 1892.*

I must once again give expression to my deep sense of the loyalty and affectionate sympathy evinced by my subjects in every part of my Empire on an occasion more sad and tragical than any but one which has befallen me and mine, as well as the Nation. The overwhelming misfortune of my dearly-loved Grandson having been thus suddenly cut off in the flower of his age, full of promise for the future, amiable and gentle, and endearing himself to all, renders it hard for his sorely stricken Parents, his dear young Bride, and his fond Grandmother to bow in submission to the inscrutable decrees of Providence.

The sympathy of millions, which has been so touchingly and visibly expressed, is deeply gratifying at such a time, and I wish, both in my own name and that of my children, to express, from my heart, my warm gratitude to *all*.

These testimonies of sympathy with us, and appreciation of my dear Grandson, whom I loved as a Son, and whose devotion to me was as great as that of a Son, will be a help and consolation to me and mine in our affliction.

My bereavements during the last thirty years of my reign have indeed been heavy. Though the labours, anxieties, and responsibilities inseparable from my position have been great, yet it is my earnest prayer that God may continue to give me health and strength to work for the good and happiness of my dear Country and Empire while life lasts.

VICTORIA, R. I.

The mortality from the epidemic, which was 19 in Christmas week, rose rapidly to 506 in the week ending the 23rd January, since which it has gradually declined. Among its many more or less eminent victims may be mentioned Tewfik Pasha, the Viceroy of Egypt, who died on the 7th January; the Archduke Salvator; Sir George Campbell, our well-known former Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who died, on the 17th February at Cairo, where he had gone for the benefit of his health; Sir William White, late British Ambassador at Constantinople; Cardinal Simeoni; Sir Morell Mackenzie, the well-known physician and specialist; Lord Abinger; Admirals Rodd and Kelly; General Sir Arthur J. Lawrence; Admiral Croft; Sir George Paget; Sir Thomas Pycroft; Sir James Caird, and Mr. Walter Bates, the naturalist.

The mortality from the epidemic has been greatly aggravated by the intense severity of the winter during which unprecedentedly low temperatures have been registered.

The succession of the Marquess of Hartington to the Dukedom of Devonshire on the death of his father, which took place, at Holker House, on the 21st December, having made it necessary to appoint a new leader of the Liberal Unionist Party in the House of Commons, a meeting of the party was held for the purpose on the 8th February, under the presidency of the Duke, when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was unanimously called upon to accept the post.

The election for the representation of Rossendale, rendered vacant by the same event, resulted, notwithstanding great exertions on the part of the Unionists and their allies, in a serious defeat for the Party, Mr. J. H. Maden, the Gladstonian Liberal candidate, heading the poll by a majority of more than twelve hundred over his opponent, Sir Thomas Brooke. Coming on the top of this discouraging verdict, the result of the elections for the London County Council, which were fought on strictly party lines, and in which the Progressists, with a socialist programme, have gained fifteen seats, bodes ill for the success of the Conservatives at the approaching general election.

The Seventh Session of the present Parliament was opened by Commission on the 9th February, the event exciting unusually little interest in the metropolis.

The Queen's speech, after referring in appropriate terms to the recent national loss and the feeling evoked by it, and also to the death of the late Khedive of Egypt, announced the conclusion of an agreement with the United States, defining the mode in which the Behring's Sea fisheries' dispute with that Power should be referred to arbitration, and the establishment of Zanzibar as a free port.

The legislative programme announced for the Session included the promised Local Government Bill for Ireland, and possibly, additional provisions for Local-government in England; an Agricultural Holdings Bill for Great Britain; a scheme for modifying the existing system of procedure on Irish and Scotch Private Bills; a Bill for improving the Legislative Councils in India; a Bill for relieving elementary public schools from the present pressure of local rates, and proposals for improving the discipline of the Church as regards moral offences, for enabling accused persons to be examined on trial, for revising the existing arrangements between the Government and the Bank of England, and for amending the law respecting the liability of employers for injuries.

In the House of Lords, the Address, in reply, was agreed to the same evening. In the House of Commons, the debate extended over five days, the Address being ultimately agreed to on the 15th, after amendments, by Mr. Redmond, asking for the release of the prisoners convicted under the Treason Felony Act, and by Mr. Sexton, declaring the inability of Parliament to legislate for Ireland, had been rejected, the former by a majority of 71, and the latter by a majority of 21.

An amendment by Mr. J. Lowther against the retention in certain Treaties with foreign States, of provisions in restraint of the establishment of preferential trading relations with the Colonies, was negatived without a division; and another amendment, in favour of placing the natives of India on terms of equality with natives of Great Britain in the matter of appointments to the public service, was withdrawn, on Mr. Curzon pointing out that a large and increasing share of such appointments was already given to natives of India.

The debate was of the usual discursive character, Indian affairs occupying a fair share of the discussion, and Mr. Samuel Smith especially making a speech of some length on the Indian Councils Bill and Opium questions. As regards the former, after congratulating the Government on their intention to proceed with the measure, he insisted strongly on the necessity of introducing the elective principle in some substantial form, if the Bill was to satisfy the people of India; while, as to the latter, he inquired what steps the Government proposed to take with respect to the recent vote of the House, condemning the trade, and remarked, with reference to the report that the Government of India had determined to do away with the opium dens, that nothing but its complete suppression would satisfy the people of England.

The Indian Councils Bill, after passing through all its stages in the House of Lords, where it was introduced, immediately

after the Address had been agreed to, on the 9th February, has been read a first time in the House of Commons. It is identical with the measure of last year, and seems to meet with the approval of moderate men on both sides of the House. Though it lends no sanction to the elective principle, as of right, it leaves to the Government of India so wide a discretion in regulating the mode in which the additional non-official members of the Councils may be chosen, as to enable it to confer the privilege of electing members on certain representative bodies, which are not necessarily to be Municipalities, and it grants to members the right of interpellation, except in respect of certain questions. Mr. McNeill has given notice of an amendment declaring that no Bill will be satisfactory which does not directly recognise the elective principle; but there is every probability of the Bill being passed in its present form.

The Indian Officers Bill, to enable certain officers in the Indian Army, including the Commander-in-Chief and also the Governor-General and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, to return to England on leave, with the consent of the Secretary of State, without vacating their appointments, was introduced in the House of Lords on the 15th February, and gave rise to considerable discussion. Ultimately the Government consented to exclude the Governor-General from the operation of the Bill, which has passed through all its stages in the Upper House, an amendment to exclude the Commander-in-Chief having been rejected by a narrow majority. The main object of the Bill is explained to be to facilitate personal discussion between the authorities at Home and the high officers concerned, and to remove the difficulty that has been experienced of late in filling up certain appointments, owing to the rule which prevents incumbents from obtaining leave in case of illness. Both objects are reasonable in themselves, though it seems strange that the reluctance to accept the appointments in question should have increased to so marked an extent in recent years as to give rise to serious inconvenience, but the power sought to be conferred by the Bill is obviously open to great abuse.

Among other Indian questions which have engaged public attention in England, are the proposed Cadastral Survey of Behar, regarding which Mr. Curzon has stated in the House that it is necessary to proceed with the measure in the interests of the cultivators, an explanation not altogether consistent with the view officially put forward in this country, and that of the opium traffic, regarding which it has been decided, at a meeting of members of Parliament interested in the subject, to introduce no motion during the current Session.

The Irish Local Government Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Balfour on the 18th February.

The Bill proposes to establish County and Baronial Councils for the conduct of purely administrative duties, leaving untouched the judicial duties at present discharged by the grand juries, the members to be elected for three years and to go out together, and the franchise for their election to be identical with the Parliamentary franchise, except that it would include women and peers and exclude illiterates. In order that minorities may be represented, the cumulative vote will be introduced, and it will be further provided that, on petition of twenty cess-payers, a Council may be tried for malversation or oppression, and, if found guilty, removed, and replaced by members appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.

The Baronial Councils, it is explained, will perform the duties of the baronial presentment sessions and the County Councils the combined administrative duties of the county presentment sessions and grand juries; and, if they choose to accept the responsibility, the duties now performed by the rural sanitary authorities will be transferred to them.

The measure is an admirable one as far as it goes, but the powers it confers will, of course, not satisfy the Separatists, and the Bill, which was read a first time, was received by the Opposition with scorn.

A Small Holdings Promotion Bill for Great Britain has also been introduced by the Government and read a first time, being favourably received by the Opposition.

A motion introduced by Mr. Samuel Smith, in favour of disestablishment in Wales, has been rejected by a majority of 47, and the Commons have adopted a Government motion, which was opposed by Mr. Gladstone, for a credit of £20,000 for the survey of the proposed railway from Mombassa to the Victoria Nyanza.

The Report of Lord Wantage's Committee on the conditions of service in the British Army has been published. The following are the recommendations of the Committee as reported by Reuter:—

To recruit above the strength of the battalions without exceeding the annual average; to maintain the Home Infantry in such strength that they shall be able to furnish drafts at fivefold the numbers required yearly; to keep the strength of battalions at Home and abroad uniform; to restore the equality of battalions at Home and abroad by raising five new Home Service battalions, or by creating third battalions of the Coldstream and Scots Guards, keeping three battalions of Guards abroad; to abolish stoppages of pay, including stoppages for sea kit and Indian clothing; to allow threepence daily for extra

messing; to substitute one pound annually for deferred pay; to allow good men to remain on the active list for twelve years, and to allow men of the reserve to return and complete twelve years with the colours.

Mr. Stanhope, in bringing forward the Army Estimates, on the 7th instant, announced his willingness to consider the recommendations of the Committee as far as possible without depleting the reserve, or introducing an extensive pension system.

In connexion with the announcement in regard to the Behrings Sea Fisheries Arbitration Treaty made in the Queen's speech, it is further to be noted that, on the 8th instant, the Treaty was sent by the President of the United States to the Senate without the usual recommendation, a course which appears to have been adopted in consequence of a proposition said to have been made in the interval by the British Government, to declare the sea open outside the 30-mile limit and to restrict the catch of seals within that limit to a certain fixed number annually. The Supreme Court at Washington, it should be added, have decided against England in the Sayward case.

A serious attempt is being made by the Miners' Federation in England to create a Coal famine by closing the mines under their control from the 14th instant, and the miners of Durham, who are unconnected with the Federation, have, it is reported, also resolved to strike. The latest news, however, points to a split in the Federation, the greater portion of the Scotch miners having withdrawn from the movement.

Sir John Walsham, whose obstructive conduct has, for a long time past, given great offence to the British community in China, has been transferred from his post of Ambassador at Peking to Bucharest, Mr. Nicholas O'Connor, Her Majesty's Consul General at Sofia, being appointed to the former.

A Ministerial crisis has taken place in France, M. Freycinet having resigned, owing to the defeat of his Government, on a Bill to give it the control of all non-industrial associations, by a coalition between the Radicals and the Right, and a new Ministry having been formed, after considerable delay, with M. Roubet as Premier.

The growing dissatisfaction with the present autocratic régime in Germany has been greatly intensified by the Education Bill introduced into the Reichstag by the Government; and an intemperate speech, delivered by the Emperor at Brandenburg, declaring his determination to put down opposition, and advising all malcontents to quit the country, has added fuel to the fire. There have been serious socialist riots in Berlin, where political disaffection has been intensified by

the distress caused by the prevailing high prices, and on the 25th ultimo a threatening mob marched to the Imperial Palace and demanded food. The rioters were dispersed by the police, and many arrests are said to have been made ; but the disturbances were renewed, in a less serious form, on the 26th and 27th ultimo.

A few days later, a prosecution was instituted against the *Cologne Gazette* for language used by it in criticising the Education Bill, and a number of other papers are reported to have been subsequently sequestered for a similar reason.

The Bill, which is practically a Bill to subject all children to instruction in some religion recognised by the State, has united the entire Liberal party, including the Socialists, against it.

At the opening of the Hungarian Parliament on the 22nd February, the Emperor of Austria announced that a Bill would be introduced for the adoption of a gold coinage, in lieu of the present paper currency based upon silver. It is generally believed, however, that the change will involve no sales of silver on the part of the State, and that it will cause no serious disturbance of the international money-market, a large portion of the gold required having already been purchased.

The International Sanitary Conference, which has been sitting at Venice, brought its deliberations to a conclusion on the 30th January, the British proposals being adopted, with certain amendments in regard to vessels in quarantine, proposed by the French delegates ; the British delegates reserving the question of their application to vessels conveying troops.

A dastardly attempt was made on the last day of the old year, to blow up Dublin Castle with dynamite. But little damage was effected, and, the inmates of the castle fortunately being away, no one was injured. Investigations are said to show that a bomb of the same form as those manufactured by the Fenians in New York was used.

Serious disturbances have taken place at Teheran and elsewhere in Persia, the chief cause of the discontent being the Tobacco monopoly recently granted by the Shah's Government to a European Company. A riotous mob threatened the Shah's palace, but were dispersed by the troops and several of their number killed ; and a general abstinence from tobacco was organised throughout the country. Ultimately the Government was weak enough to yield to the demands of the malcontents and abrogate the concession ; and quiet has been restored, but it is not at all certain that the trouble is at an end.

The Pamir incident, which caused so much excitement last autumn, is stated to have been settled favourably to England, the Government of St. Petersburg having admitted that

a mistake was made in the arrest of Captain Younghusband, and expressed its regret.

Further fighting took place in the Hunza territory on the 20th December, when a force consisting of fifty men of the Kashmir Bodyguard, under Lieutenant Manners-Smith, supported by a similar force under Lieutenant Taylor, all under the command of Captain Colin Mackenzie, of the Seaforth Highlanders, captured the almost inaccessible Fortress of Maiyun, on the Hunza side of the river, by escalade, some 200 of the enemy being killed and wounded, with a loss on our side of only four men wounded.

The affair appears to have been a most gallant one, the fort being situated on a precipitous cliff, the approach to which was commanded by numerous sungars, and the only known path up which had been destroyed by the enemy. The final attack and its results are thus described by a correspondent of the *Englishman* :—

A couple of sepoy's belonging to the Bodyguard had fortunately discovered a practicable, though very steep and difficult path up the opposite side from the nullah leading so as to turn the proper left flank of the line of sungars on the edge of the ravine, and Captain Mackenzie resolved to make a bold attempt by means of this path to break down the formidable barrier which was opposing our progress. He accordingly detailed a party of 100 rifles, 50 under Lieutenant Manners-Smith, and 50 under Lieutenant Taylor, with instructions to make their way down to the bottom of the ravine during the night so as to be ready to tackle the dangerous climb up the face of the opposite cliff as soon as they could see their way. Early in the morning, simultaneously with their advance, a heavy fire was opened by the guns at the Fort on the sungars in order to keep the defenders engaged, and to draw off their attention from the attacking party, but they were soon observed, and though protected in a great measure from direct fire by the steepness of the cliff they had great difficulty in avoiding the stones which were hurled down upon them by the enemy. However, the whole party managed to scramble to the top without any mishap, and for a brief space afforded a target for the fire of the Hunza tribesmen. This was promptly responded to by the Bodyguard, and was immediately followed by a complete and abject surrender on the part of the enemy, who threw down their weapons and squatted on the ground, putting bits of straw and grass in their mouths, thereby signifying that they were cattle and would not fight.

Our troops then went on to the other sungars, the defenders of all of which, having seen the capture of the other defensive position, surrendered in a body like sheep, on the appearance of Lieutenant Manners-Smith and his gallant men in the rear of their position, which, though immensely strong in front, was completely open and unprotected in the rear face.

A large number of the enemy were shot while returning the fire from the Fort, and many others while endeavouring to secure their safety by running away, and many prisoners were also taken. Our loss was very slight, consisting only of four men wounded.

In the meantime, while this really gallant and heroic act was being carried out, the Forts of Thol and Maiyun were evacuated by their occupants, the wholly unexpected and brilliant attack on, and capture

of, the sungars in which they trusted having a most demoralizing effect on them, and, there being now no further resistance, our troops marched rapidly on towards Nagar without encountering any opposition.

The following day, the force advanced to Fakir, taking several forts by the way, and on the 22nd they occupied successively Nagar, the Raja of which surrendered himself and his fort unconditionally, and Hunza, the Chief of which abandoned it and made good his escape. The Hunza people submitted and gave hostages, and their behaviour has since been of the most conciliatory character. As a proof of the completeness of our success and of the favourable way in which the occupation has been received, it may be added that, among our cold-weather visitors in Calcutta have been thirty-two of the tribesmen of the neighbourhood—Hunzas, Nagars, Punialas and Kafirs, among them the heir-apparent of Nagar and the nephew of the late Raja of Hunza,—all under charge of Dr. Robertson, who have come to see the wonders of the Indian Empire and its capital, and, according to all accounts, are much gratified with their visit.

Since the beginning of the year there have been serious disturbances on the Lushai and Burmah frontiers. On the 7th February our outpost at Sadon was attacked by a body of 500 Kachins. The small force there lost five men killed and fourteen wounded, but held its own. On the 8th and 11th the attack was renewed in force, and desultory fighting continued at intervals till the 20th. On the 23rd the garrison, having been reinforced, captured Semitoung, and the N. E. column under Captain Dewy, took Sadon the same day.

On the 1st instant a small force under Mr. McCabe, which was marching to punish Lalbura, was attacked outside the village, but drove off the enemy and subsequently occupied a portion of the village. The following day, the Lushais, having been reinforced by Pois, again attacked the force, but were driven off with loss; and, on the 3rd, a party sent out to reconnoitre were attacked, but repulsed the enemy with heavy loss. Two days later, the Lushais, having been further reinforced, renewed the attack, but were repulsed. About the same time, a party marching from Aijal under a native officer, was attacked by the Lushais in ambush, and lost two men killed, but succeeded in reaching Lalbura. The outbreak appears to be of an extensive character, and reinforcements are being pushed on from Silchar.

An expedition into the Tornlong country has been brought to a successful conclusion, some of the Burmese captives having been recovered, and three chiefs carried off as hostages for the remainder; and a force sent to punish the Tlang-Tlangs for their attack on Mr. McNabb's escort last year, has returned, after destroying the houses of the offenders and

levying tribute from them. A peaceful reconnaissance of the Hukong Valley has also been carried out, besides numerous other minor operations.

On the 4th instant a serious emeute occurred in the jail at Akyab, the prisoners, incited, it is believed, by the Minlaung Prince, who had been recently captured, attacking their guards and killing Mr. Nelson, the jailor. Ultimately the local Volunteers were called out, and the rising was suppressed, but not until they had fired on the prisoners and killed several of their number.

With these exceptions, profound tranquillity has reigned throughout India during the period under review ; and, though the agitation against the proposed Cadastral Survey of Behar still continues, the tone of public feeling has been generally satisfactory.

The Lieutenant-Governor's cold-weather tour has been unmarked by any sensational incidents, except at Puri, where he found it necessary to administer a severe reproof to the Municipality for their neglect of sanitation and education and their laxity in collecting the Municipal rates.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce have addressed a letter to the Supreme Government, urging on it the desirability, in the event of the failure of the proposed International Conference to arrive at an agreement for the adoption of bimetallism, of taking steps to consider seriously the question of adopting a gold standard for India. The Annual Meeting of the Chamber was held on the 26th ultimo, when Mr. Mackay, the President, in his speech, strongly urged the desirability of raising the minimum income assessable under the Income-Tax to Rs. 2,000. Referring to the approaching opening of the Kidderpore Docks, Mr. Mackay advocated the postponement of the construction of a second dock for ten years, and of the Mutla Canal scheme for twenty years. Among other subjects dwelt on, was the necessity for a telegraph cable to Port Blair, on meteorological grounds, it being in the neighbourhood of the Andaman Islands that most of the more destructive cyclones that traverse the North of the Bay of Bengal, originate. The Currency problem was also dealt with by Mr. J. Anderson, who severely condemned the *laissez-faire* policy of the Government in view of a calamity which was practically revolutionising the social position of the natives of the country, by shifting the burden of taxation from the rayats to the landless classes.

Two Acts of considerable importance have been recently introduced into the Legislative Council—one to impose a rate upon private estates under the management of the Court of Wards, to cover the cost of supervision ; and the other

to amend the Land Acquisition Act of 1870, by empowering the Collector to make the award, without the aid of assessors and without reference to the Court, leaving the proprietor, if dissatisfied, to contest it by a regular suit; by defining the market value of land, and fixing it as at the date on which the Government gives notice of intention to acquire; by facilitating the acquisition of land for the purposes of public companies in certain cases, and in other respects.

The Bill to extend the jurisdiction of the Madras Court of Small Causes, which has provoked very general dissatisfaction, has been postponed *sine die*.

It is understood that the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will not meet this cold season.

The Committee which assembled at Simla to consider the question of the future organisation and position of the Volunteers submitted a voluminous report, in which, besides suggesting the desirability of requiring all Government servants to join the force, they recommended the granting of a large number of personal concessions to effective members, including preference for Government employment; the same exemption from Income-taxes as is granted to the Regular Army; assistance in the education of children in certain cases; cheap passages to Europe; railway passes entitling Volunteers of more than five years' service to travel by the class next higher than that for which they may pay, and various other personal privileges. A second Committee subsequently sat in Calcutta to deal with the question, and have submitted their report; but it is regarded as unlikely that the Government will go beyond relieving members of the force, as far as possible, from necessary expenses.

The Imperial Diamond case, which was pending at the date of our last retrospect, was brought to a conclusion on the 22nd January, when the jury found a verdict of 'not guilty' on all the charges, after a summing-up strongly in favour of the defendant on the law of the case. It is understood that the matter has been privately settled during the last few days, by the Nizam paying Mr. Jacob a sum of about a lakh-and-a-half of rupees in addition to the twenty-three lakhs previously deposited by him, and taking over the diamond.

The work of canvassing for the approaching Municipal elections has kept the native community of Calcutta in a state of considerable excitement during the last few weeks, the devices said to be adopted to secure votes showing that the Bengalees possess at least one of the qualifications for representative government.

Among our cold weather visitors of note has been Prince Damrong, of Siam, who arrived in Calcutta, from Benares, on the 25th ultimo, and subsequently visited Darjiling.

The prolonged drought of the last four months, following on the scanty monsoon of last year, has intensified the scarcity already prevailing in parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and considerable distress prevails, owing to the high prices of grain, in North Behar, Kuch Behar and Jalpaigori.

The *Obituary* of the Quarter, in addition to the names already mentioned, includes those of Cardinal Manning; Mr. Spurgeon; Admiral Sir Provo Wallis; Sir R. Sandeman; Sir C. Wingfield; Sir John Eardley Wilmot; the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia; Sir Oscar Clayton; Professor Adams, the astronomer and discoverer of Neptune; M. E. deLaveleye, the well-known political economist; Sir George Airy, formerly Astronomer Royal; Sir J. Redhouse, the great Turkish scholar; Mr. Alfred Celler, the musical composer; Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, better known to the world as Count Gleichen; Bishop Crowther; Mon. Freppel; Messrs. W. G. Wills and Madison Morton, the dramatists; Dr. Kuenen, the famous Biblical critic; Dr. Junker, the African traveller; Mr. J. K. Stephen; General Sir A. J. Lawrence; Dr. Philpott, Bishop of Worcester; Sir Thomas Chambers; Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, late of the Bengal Civil Service; Commodore Hoskyns; Pundit Ajodhya Prosad, and Mr. Curwen, late Editor of the *Times of India*.

J. W. F.

CALCUTTA, }
March 10th, 1892. }

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1890-91.

IN this bulky volume Sir Steuart Bayley's share in last year's administration work is disposed of in a quarter of a page.

It is notified that "an important change in Frontier administration took place during the year under review." This was effected on paper, by conversion of the Chittagong Hill Tract into a sub-division. South American Republics would do well to take lessons from the Bengal Secretariat in the science of Revolution and Reconstruction. Arriving at the heading *Political*, we are told that "the general condition and public health of the people of the Tributary States of Orissa was better than in the two preceding years;" that the Government of India has recognised Baboo Raghunath Singh Hari Chandar's right of succession to his ancestral *guddee*; and that the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur made his usual tour during the cold weather of 1890-91. Regretfully leaving behind us such reminiscences of paternal Government, and routine duty accomplished, we find sundry Survey and Settlement operations mentioned as having been in progress; but nothing is said about the opposition they meet with from the Zemindaree interest, or the distrust with which they are regarded by rayats. The Legislative record of the year is, happily, as nearly barren as it well could be:

The Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had under consideration two Bills in the session of 1890-91. Both of these have been passed, and have received the assent of the Governor-General. Act I, 1891, was introduced with the object of allowing Collectors, other than Collectors of districts, to make certificates under section 7 of the Public Demands Recovery Act, 1880, and to validate all certificates made by Collectors before the passing of the Act. It is entitled an Act to amend the Public Demands Recovery Act, 1880. Act II, 1891—an Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to Hackney Carriages and Palanquins in Calcutta—was introduced to improve the condition of hackney carriages and to protect weak, lame, and sickly horses and ponies. Several changes of minor importance were added. The Local Government is empowered to extend, or limit, the operation of the Act. Bye-laws may be made by the Municipal Commissioners subject to the approval of the Local Government. This Act came into force on 1st October 1891.

Act II has been utterly barren of result.

The Calcutta High Court, during the year of report, disposed, on its original side, of 531 suits, and left 563 pending.

Under the heading *Municipal Administration and Local Self-Government* it is written :—

The total number of meetings of all kinds held by the Commissioners of the Calcutta Municipality during 1890-91 was 276, against 282 in the preceding year. Eighteen Commissioners were present at more than 50, and 8 at more than 100 meetings. The Corporation was occupied during the year with the business of general administration, with basti and town improvement, with the extension of the water supply, the improvement of the Suburbs, the Central Road, the Hackney Carriage Bill, and other measures of importance. The total loan liability of the Commissioners rose from 187 to 212 lakhs, while the annual valuation increased from 174 to 201 lakhs. Of the 30 lakhs borrowed during the year, Rs. 13,31,000 were set apart for the Central Road, Rs. 12,00,000 for water-supply, and Rs. 4,69,000 for drainage and repayment of loans. The actual income of the Municipality during 1890-91 was Rs. 42,06,412 against Rs. 42,17,123 in 1889-90, and the expenditure rose from Rs. 41,27,883 to Rs. 44,71,169. The deficit of Rs. 2,64,757 on the year's working was met partly from the opening balance and partly by transfers from capital account. The rates aggregated 19½ per cent. on the annual value of property liable to assessment, and the incidence of taxation amounted to Rs. 5-10-11 per head of the population recorded in the recent Census. The connection between the improvement of water-supply and the diminution of cholera is shown by the fact that in the twenty-one years during which the town has been supplied with pure drinking-water, the death-rate from cholera has decreased to a little more than one fourth of its former standard. At the close of the year the length of mains and services on the filtered system amounted to 231 miles, and the average daily supply per head during the year was 39·46 gallons in the town and 15 gallons in the added area. A scheme for draining the amalgamated area, and for improving the Calcutta system has been prepared, and the project will cost about Rs. 1,70,69,000 to carry out fully.

One's inclination after reading this is towards wonderment whether the Calcutta Municipality will ever be able to evolve anything over and above a "scheme," and incidentally circumnavigating tall talk.

The river Hughli has remained navigable up to date for vessels of large burthen, and still gives employment to 60 pilots of all grades and 16 leadsmen :—

A total of 2,096 ships arrived at and departed from the port of Calcutta having an average tonnage of 2,360 tons, as against 2,056 vessels with an average tonnage of 2,166 tons in the previous year. The total number of steamers and sailing ships drawing 21 feet and over fell from 787 in 1889-90 to 748 in 1890-91. These figures are all exclusive of Government vessels, steam-tugs, steamers trading to the Orissa ports and native craft. There were 47 cases of grounding and 12 of collision against 39 and 5 in the preceding year.

No vessel was lost, but in five cases serious damage was done. Meanwhile, we note that the Kidderpor Docks would have been opened early in 1891, if faulty construction, or bad materials, or whatever it was that induced collapse, had permitted the realisation of departmental expectations. The Chittagong Port Fund is reported to be flourishing.

While avoiding, as far as may be, departmental business separately dealt with in our reviews of departmental reports, we extract, in its integrity, as being a compendious memoir of what was done, a summary of famine and flood relief measures undertaken during the year :—

The districts of Sarun, Nuddea, Jessore, Moorshedabad, 24-Pergunnahs, Khoolna, Rajshahye, Pubna, Bogra, Rungpore, and Furreedpore suffered from floods during the year under review. The distress in Balasore continued, and there was some want in the neighbouring State of Moharbhaj.

The flood in Sarun was principally due to the river Gogra, which breached an old zemindari embankment situated at its junction with the Daha, and inundated the town of Chupra, together with a tract covering about 600 square miles, 500 of which were under cultivation. In this area the crops were almost entirely destroyed, and great damage was caused to cattle and houses. Measures of relief were speedily taken. The town of Chupra was divided into circles, accommodation was provided for the homeless, and cattle were also taken care of. Grain was sent by boat into the interior, and temporary shops were established on the railway line. The Lieutenant-Governor visited the district, arranged for the establishment of nine circle officers, and directed that loans should be made to those needing immediate subsistence, irrespective of the ordinary procedure. Agricultural advances and charitable loans were made to an amount aggregating Rs. 71,544 and Rs. 9,810 respectively, and the District Board opened relief works. Large importations of grain kept down prices. All the relief measures were concluded by the end of February 1891.

In the Presidency Division a flood was caused by the overflow of the Jellinghee and other channels connected with the Ganges, and was made more serious by the bursting of the Bhagiruthee embankment. The area affected amounted to 129 square miles in the 24-Pergunnahs, 835 in Nuddea, 565 in Jessore, 100 in Khoolna, and 351 in Moorshedabad. During the inundations a good deal of distress was felt, but there was throughout a sufficiency of grain and the prices of food and labour were not affected. The relief measures taken were ample. The districts were divided into circles, each in charge of a special officer. Agricultural loans were made, labourers were employed on relief works by District Boards and Municipalities, and money, food and clothing were distributed. In all Rs. 79,645 were expended in this division.

Some injury was caused by floods to the lowlands of Rajshahye, Pubna, Bogra, Rungpore, and Furreedpore, but there was no keen or widespread distress. Relief works were continued in Balasore till October 1890, the total cost during the year amounting to Rs. 1,750; gratuitous relief was given to 30,130 persons—a daily average of 196—out of local subscriptions; and some agricultural advances were also made. In 33 villages of the Moharbhaj States scanty rainfall reduced the outturn of the rice crop to 4 annas, and Rs. 35,000 were expended on relief works.

It goes without saying that the interests of forests flourished abundantly. Yet Sir Charles Elliott is not happy. He "trusts that the Forest Department will not let their zeal for improvements in administration, override their regard to the contribution which should be made to the general revenues."

With reference to indigo manufacture "it is anticipated that any heavy advance in the price of indigo will cause aniline dyes to be used in its stead." *Brutum fulmen! Vox et præterea nihil*; echo of which has been sedulously kept going for the last quarter of a century.

We read:—

There were 302 cases of detention at Calcutta under the Merchandise Marks Act, 1889, during the year 1890-91. Of these, 252 consisted of unstamped or partially stamped piece-goods, 16 were false trade descriptions, and 34 were goods marked with the name of a British trader made abroad and not showing the country of manufacture. The results of the detention were that 67 cases were released with fine, 234 were released without fine, and in only one case were the goods finally confiscated. The Act is being worked satisfactorily.

Is it being worked "satisfactorily" to Custom House officialdom, or satisfactorily to the mercantile interests concerned?

Irrigation works in Bengal resulted in a loss of Rs. 1,99,485. State railways did well, all of them returning some percentage of interest on capital outlay. The total telegraph mileage at the end of the year amounted to 18,886. The business done by the Post Office extended itself as usual. Rent-remitting money order business increased five fold. It is considered worth noting that no highway robberies on postal bags occurred. Road and Public Works cesses were levied at full rates, except in Backergunge, where the Road cess was accepted at half the maximum rate. According to returns made under the Cess Act, it would appear that the gross rental of Bengal has risen within the last fifteen years from Rs. 13,11,68,432 to Rs. 14,60,45,236—an increase attributed partly to enhancements of rents, and partly to more accurate valuations. It is noticed that there were several important cases of smuggling from Nepal, indicative of an organisation for introducing illicit drugs into the Native States of the Punjab. Salt revenue showed an increase of more than six lakhs on the previous year, and the realisations were the highest for the last decade. "During the year under review, an important change in administration was effected in Orissa by the establishment of one Government salt factory and the sanctioning of another. This will result in cheapening the price of salt and in affording employment to the rayats. This step was induced by the irregular working of the licensees of the *Kurkutch* factories and the consequent disorganisation of industry. Mr. Kilby's scales for the weighment of salt have been used in Calcutta since July 1890, and were introduced into Chittagong during the course of the year. The number of seizures of contraband salt decreased from 977 in 1889-90 to 715 in the past year. The number of prosecutions fell from 1,490 to 987. In Orissa the cases instituted for offences against the Salt Laws also decreased from 4,189 to 2,087."

In the matter of Excise there was a decline of Rs. 1, 78,870 in the revenue obtained from country spirits, but a rise in that from almost all other exciseable articles—notably from ganja, opium, pachwai, and tári. The number of arrests for breaches of excise laws rose from 4,441 to 5,054 ; that of convictions from 3,747 to 4,233. Rs. 68,244 were paid as commission on Rs. 85,795 worth of Fines. The work of registering Births and Deaths is said to have been “so indifferently performed, that the results were practically useless for statistical purposes.” Census figures apart, are any Indian statistics worth anything for statistical purposes, supposing the purpose of any of these to be scientific ?

Bengal was responsible for dissemination of 29 newspapers and periodicals written in English. 13 Vernacular newspapers came into existence, and 24 succumbed to atrophy, the total number supplied to the Bengali Translator's office having been 63 as against 74, in the previous year.

“As the Bengal Circle of the Archæological Survey of India was abolished at the end of September 1890, the Assistant Surveyor and his staff confined themselves to working up the drawings in hand, and writing the reports on the buildings in the old fortress at Rohtasgurh and on the tombs of Hasan Khan and others at Sasseram. The restoration of portions of the Maner tomb, which is almost the finest example of Mahomedan architecture in Bengal, was nearly completed. Special repairs were executed to the Bodh-Gya temple, and a change was made in its management ; the temple and the attached buildings being brought on to the books of the Public Works Department, and a subordinate of the Sub-Overseer class being appointed to act as custodian under the Executive Engineer. The Magistrate is still to retain a general power of supervision.”

It is devoutly to be hoped that he will exercise it. The Public Works Department does not pretend to be either archæological or æsthetic. Superabundance of care on its part, on bald Public Works Department lines, is a misfortune almost as much to be dreaded as the vandalism of the profane vulgus.

A'propos of the economy of Art, it is written :—

The most important work of the Economic and Art Section of the Indian Museum is the preservation and arrangement of existing specimens. The completion of the Sudder Street extension to the new buildings will furnish ample accommodation, and will enable the specimens to be better preserved and more satisfactorily arranged. Additions were made to all three branches of the section, and the total number of exhibits amounted to 7,171 in the Ethnological Court, 18,217 in the Economic Branch, and 10,842 in the Art-ware Court. The work of collecting specimens for other institutions—notably for the Imperial Institute—was continued during the year.

Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1890-91.

HEAVY monsoon rainfall caused the year 1890 to be the most unhealthy that has been known in the Punjab since the introduction of statistics: and the persistent wet weather resulted in the harvesting of a remarkably abundant wheat crop. The frontier administration was marked by "the unusual occurrence of three military expeditions," (Have there never before been more than two going on at the same time?) and by the successful prosecution of the arrangements made for opening and protecting the Gomal Pass route. Three expeditions, notwithstanding the behaviour of the border clans generally, is reported "exceedingly good." *Apropos* of his Frontier policy the Lieutenant-Governor writes:—

Work connected with the North-West Frontier has been unusually heavy and pressing in character during Sir James Lyall's tenure of office, and he believes that during the past three years much has been done to strengthen and improve the administration of the Border Districts. Proposals framed for increasing the superior District staff have been lately sanctioned by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, and while the armament of the Border Military Police has been improved in Kohát and Pesháwar, the old Border Police and Militia of the Deraját are being entirely reconstituted and formed into an efficient body, and a similar force, of the nature of tribal levies, is being recruited for the Hazára District. The Black Mountain and Orakzai Expeditions have, it is hoped, put an end for ever to the disorder which had prevailed on those parts of the border for some years previously, and the re-arrangement of the Bhattanni service and grant of service to the Mashúd Wazírís and Shiránís have effected, or will effect, important changes in our relations with these tribes and the extent of our control over them. In fact, the Shiránís and all the other tribes to the south of the Gomal whose lands intervene between the old Punjab Frontier and what is now British Belúchistán now understand that they are practically British subjects. Almost every important question connected with the frontier has been fully reconsidered at one time or another during the Lieutenant-Governor's tenure of office, and Sir James Lyall believes that he may safely say that the Frontier Officers of the Punjab are now in a position, both as regards knowledge of the policy of Government and power to protect the border and extend friendly relations beyond it, such as they have never occupied before. His Honor trusts that the results of this will be seen in the increased efficiency both of the internal administration and border management of all frontier districts, and that the greater attention which it will be possible for Frontier Deputy Commissioners to devote to all border matters will, by the speedy settlement of cases and the careful removal of all just causes of dissatisfaction, secure the more lasting peace and content of the wild trans-border people with whom they have to deal.

Sustained falling-off in the number of suits instituted continued to be a feature in the administration of civil justice. The figures for 1890-91 stand below those of any year since 1877. The diminution cannot, more's the pity, be attributed to decline of fondness for litigation, because, since 1884, a

considerable number of what used to be treated as civil suits are disposed of by Revenue Courts. Although the total number of cases has decreased, the number of suits for money based upon bonds and contracts, or in consideration of goods supplied, remained practically the same as last year, while the number of money suits brought by bankers and money-lenders against agriculturists, materially increased. There was a marked decrease in the number of suits based on contracts not in writing, and a corresponding increase in suits founded on bonds. As to criminal justice, decrease in crime is held up as matter for congratulation, although the number of offences against human life has increased by 9 per cent., and there were 51 more cases of admitted murder than last year. With regard to the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure for demanding sureties for good behaviour and for keeping the peace, the progressive increase during the last four years in the number of cases in which the security has been confiscated is held to be indication that these minatory indictments have been directed against the right classes of persons. They may have been. But how progressively increasing proof that they have failed in their mission to prevent can be construed into a making for prevention, we fail to see.

The percentage of convictions is said to have been in many districts unnaturally low, and the sentences passed insufficient to act as a real deterrent.

In regard to Judicial work generally, Sir James Lyall has been assured by the Judges of the Chief Court, and is satisfied from his own personal observation, that much has been done to improve the working of the Civil and Criminal Courts since the reorganization of the Judicial system in 1884, especially in the matter of more careful attention to the rules of procedure and improved grasp of principles; and he believes that the work is much more carefully and elaborately performed by Courts of all grades than it used to be. At the same time he has reason to think that a want of the necessary firmness in Criminal work, and of that sympathy with the common people which a Court ought to have in deciding Civil suits in a country where the litigants are so often simple and illiterate, are still common failings among the officers who preside over the Subordinate Courts. With the advice and guidance of superior officers given steadily and kindly, there is every reason to believe that such deficiencies may be gradually removed; without this there is no small risk of their ultimately proving a serious danger to the efficiency of the Judicial work of the Punjab.

A further reduction of the number of Municipal Committees for very small rural towns has been approved of. District Boards are said to have worked fairly well, "though they have been somewhat remiss in the matter of meetings and attendance at meetings." The Punjab Government is already, we are told, disposed to dispense with a good many local Boards "as being in the present state of rural feeling and education, useless encumbrances." For our part, we fail to see wherein Punjab

District Boards are better or worse than that, although to Sir James Lyall "the example of some of the Municipalities and some of the District Boards of the Province gives hope that gradually elsewhere a real capacity for local self-government will be developed." We notice in this connection that the actual outlay on Public Works under Municipal Funds was more than 2½ lakhs below the Budget Estimates.

On the subject of Trade the Lieutenant-Governor writes :—

A very noticeable falling off in the trade with trans-frontier countries has taken place during the year under report, the decrease in the value of imports amounting to 18 per cent. and of exports to 11 per cent. Part of this falling off, however, is merely nominal, as there is reason to believe that much of the merchandise carried by the newly-opened railway to Kashmir has escaped registration. The decrease in the trade with Afghánistán is real, and amounts to 23 per cent. as compared with the average of the past five years. The causes of this decline have been referred to in previous reports. The chief of these are the prohibitive dues levied by the Amír, and the competition of Russian goods in the Central Asian markets. Imports from Kashmir have diminished by 15 per cent. Exports have slightly increased. There is no reason, however, to anticipate any check to the development of commercial relations with this State. The falling-off in imports is possibly accounted for by the opening of the Jummoo Siálkot Railway, as above explained. The trade of the Province with other parts of India continues to be progressive, the imports of the year under report having been the largest on record. The chief articles imported in increased quantities were sugar, Indian cotton goods, iron and provisions. On the other hand, there has been a very serious falling-off in the imports of European cotton goods. This is probably due to the paralysation of the markets last year owing to the fluctuations of exchange. The value of the export trade was 45 lakhs of rupees below that of the previous year, but was considerably above the average of the past five years. The falling off is more than accounted for by the decreased exports of oil seeds. Wheat also and raw cotton were exported in considerably less quantities owing to the unfavourable character of the seasons for these crops. The falling off in the exports to the sea-ports was about 45 per cent., but this was almost counterbalanced by increased exports to land provinces. Since the close of the year the export of wheat has recommenced on an unexampled scale and has had the serious effect on prices of all food staples which has been noticed above.

The outlay of the Provincial Public Works Department exceeded 59 lakhs, and important progress was made in Imperial Civil Works. *Inter alia*, the North-West Frontier roads and the Dera Gházi Khan Loralai road have been practically completed. On the Samana range, the Miranzai expedition necessitated the improvement of roads, construction of main and picket posts and quarters, and storage of water to meet the requirements of 10 British officers and 850 men.

During the past five years no inconsiderable amount of work has been carried out by the officers of the Provincial Public Works Department. The construction of the frontier military roads was in itself a work of great importance, involving heavy expenditure from

Imperial Revenues. At the capital of the Province the Aitchison College, the Lady Aitchison Hospital for Women, and the Prince Albert Victor wing of the Mayo Hospital stand as memorials of this period, and the Jubilee Museum and Technical Institute and the College Boarding House will be added to these in a few months, Pesháwar has seen the practical completion of its water-works, and Delhi will shortly do the same. Much still remains to be done throughout the Punjab as regards good communications and the proper accommodation of the various Courts and offices, and the majority of Municipalities are still backward in executing the most necessary sanitary reforms. But the rise in the price of labour and of materials, and the consequent increase in the cost of buildings and other works, which in some instances has proved enormous, makes the task of completing all the much needed public works in the Province a slow process.

The most important sanitary work in progress was the Delhi Water Works, more than two lakhs having been spent on this scheme out of an estimated total of ten lakhs. The Pesháwar Water-Works were nearly completed. In the little town of Kalka, too, a new water-supply was introduced, which is referred to as "an unambitious work, but one which should prove of much value, as providing for the health of the residents at what is now the railway terminus from which travellers start for Simla."

A Sanitary Board was constituted in the Province during the year, its functions being limited, to start with, to those of a consultative body, as much caution must be exercised in carrying out any general measures of sanitation throughout the country at large, and it was considered inexpedient immediately to invest the Board with the power of inaugurating large reforms, which, though theoretically desirable, would be likely to provoke no little opposition on the part of the masses of the people.

The financial prosperity of the Province is vouched for by an expansion of revenue to the tune of nearly $4\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs, and by a surplus for the year of Rs. 1,47,30,000, realised in spite of considerable remissions of Land Revenue, necessitated by the ravages of locusts. In the Excise Department various reforms, and vigorous measures taken for the suppression of smuggling, have resulted in an addition of Rs. 1,79,000 to the Revenue. The Income-tax yielded Rs. 68,000 more than in the preceding twelve months. An addition of over one lakh of rupees to the outlay on public works was found possible: considerable expense was incurred in carrying out long-desired reforms in Civil Departments and the grants for education were amplified.

Although Educational Statistics for the year show a fall in the number of scholars attending public schools, and a considerable decline both of private schools and attendance thereat, it is contended that 1890-91 was, educationally considered, a

year of decided progress in most respects. The Mayo School of Art continued to do good work; the report on the Veterinary School is very favourable. The Text-book Committee contributed its quota to the tale of utilitarianism. "The least hopeful matter is that of Female Education, which, with the prejudice against it, and the lack of female teachers, must necessarily be of slow growth." The opening of Zamindari schools has, we are told, afforded the agricultural classes facilities for giving their children education in subjects likely to be of use to them in after life. Of course, if they prefer it, the kind of primary education available to all classes is open to them. "But, as regards the more advanced branches of education, the Lieutenant-Governor's view has been that, while due opportunities should be given to those who desire to use them, the cost should not mainly fall upon the State."

Sir James Lyall regrets that the Volunteer Movement has been less successful in his Province—where there is, perhaps, more need for it than in any other province—than elsewhere. He is glad to see that some officers of the Commission have lately set a good example by joining the Force.

The funds at the disposal of the Punjab Government for archæological purposes being very limited, it has been found necessary to spread the cost of restoring buildings of interest over several years. In that under report, it may be noticed that progress has been made with the restoration of the Diwān-i-Khas in the Delhi Palace, the Tomb of the Emperor Jehāngīr at Shahdera, and the preservation of the Shālmār Gardens at Lahore.

General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year 1890-91.

THIS being the last Annual Report to be submitted by Mr. White, previously to his taking leave, Sir Auckland Colvin, minuting on it, improves the occasion by writing:—

The Lieutenant-Governor desires, therefore, while requesting you to convey to all classes of your subordinates his acknowledgments of their labours during the year of report, to express his strong sense of the great services you have yourself rendered to the Department during your term of office as Director of Public Instruction. In revising more especially the scale of fees for secondary education, and in introducing uniformity into the grant-in-aid rules, you have brought about most useful reforms; but your administration in all its departments has been characterised by the union of thoroughness and vigour, with temperate and conciliatory control. While finding yourself compelled to differ at various times from the views of the Government, and of those who have been associated with you in your work, you have known how to gain and retain the confidence equally of all; and the Lieutenant-Governor has little doubt that your departure will be as much regretted by those who have served under you as by the Government under which you have served.

The total expenditure of all kinds on Education was Rs. 33,89,971,—an advance of 10 per cent. on last year's figures. It is a healthy sign of the times, that school fees paid in the year 1890-91 show a rise of no less than 46 per cent. on the corresponding figures for 1889-90. We have grown tired of reiterating that gratuitous National education is unappreciated, *ergo* wasted education; and that the measure of a people's willingness to pay for instruction is the measure of its capacity for assimilating it. The fee statistics here given for the educationally "backward" North-West Provinces are gratifying and of good promise, albeit that the Government's contribution to the cost of University education is still 51 per cent. of the total amount expended thereon. Private enterprise, we are told, is mainly occupied with secondary education. The Lieutenant-Governor does well to enjoin officers of the Department of Public Instruction to use their best endeavours to make this said scheme of secondary education increasingly independent of State aids and benevolences.

There has arisen, in the course of the last three years, an increase of two-thirds the number of students in Collegiate classes, coupled with an increase of but little over one-tenth in expenditure from public funds, and a rise of over three-quarters in the amount raised by fees. The total expenditure remains nearly stationary, and the cost per student is proportionally reduced. For the first time on record no North Western Provinces' College this year sent students to be examined by the Calcutta University.

Apropos of the local examinations held instead, Mr. White considers the small number of students presenting themselves for the M. A. degree a matter for regret, since the extra training involved exercises a most beneficial effect on intellect and character. Thereanent, Sir Auckland Colvin is fain to hope that the recent decision that M. A. Scholarships may be held at other Colleges than the Muir, will encourage the formation of M. A. classes. We glean that:—

In the B. A. examination an extraordinary degree of success was attained by the Agra College, three-quarters of the 36 candidates having obtained their degree. The Bareilly College was not equally successful, but the recent improvements introduced in its teaching staff will probably lead to better results. Only 24 students out of 155 presented themselves for examination in the Science course, and it is possible that the want of facilities for teaching Science in secondary schools may account for this fact. Steps are being taken in connexion with the Report of the Committee on Technical Education to remedy this defect. The University maintained the high standard necessary to secure a place in the first class; only one candidate succeeding in attaining that honor.

Is that last sentence written sarcastically? The number of pupils at Oriental Colleges (503) was nearly the same as in

1889-90. An increase from 396 to 530 occurred in the Collegiate Law classes : they are said to consist largely of students who have no other object than to put in a certain number of attendances. India being already cursed with much more of a litigious spirit abroad, and far greater respect for shams than is good for the public weal, we cannot regard this inflation of law classes, whether legitimately or illegitimately induced, as matter for congratulation.

The following extract from a Circle Report by Mr. Boutflower invites speculation as to the real worth of our systems of Public Instruction, judged by results :—

The best of the 3rd masters are, I fancy, dissatisfied with their positions. Their intellectual attainments are not such as to qualify them for higher masterships, and their only hope of promotion is to get into the inspecting line. Among the lower masters there are many who, beyond the power of teaching the class books, have none of the qualifications of a schoolmaster. They are quite unable to repress idleness or to exercise any wholesome moral influence over their pupils. Such mental force as they once possessed was quite used-up in cramming for the Entrance Examination. It is much to be regretted that the education of boys at our zila schools should have to be confided to these prematurely played-out persons. The zila schools of to-day are the principal manufactories of the public opinion of the next generation. The way in which the boys now at school will treat public matters when they grew up to be men, will very much depend on the ideas and habits which are now being formed in them. It is admitted that a purely intellectual education tends to exalt selfishness to the ruling principle of life. Mr. Nesfield has endeavoured, as far as he could, to take away this reproach from our educational system by introducing into his readers, interesting extracts of an admirable moral tone. Unfortunately, boys are not much affected by what they read in books unless it is sensational and appeals to their emotions. But personal influence counts for much with them, and it is to the masters chiefly, I think, that we must look to produce the desired type of character in them, if, indeed, under our present system, it can be produced at all. For this reason I have laid, perhaps, more stress than is customary in an annual report on what I consider to be the principal shortcoming in the teaching staff.

Are apathetically automatic schoolmasters, and sordid *keranees* of sorts, verily and indeed the best outcomes to be hoped for from average students after they have passed through the fires of an Indian College Course to the Moloch of Western-World-devised studies, with which they have no affinity, and which they cannot assimilate? Is this course, after all said and done, for all but the elite of the crowd, an unwelcome treadmill that they are forced round about in, without acquiring, in the course of the dreary penance, any leaven of—any love of—culture for culture's own sake?

Here is an extract from the Lieutenant-Governor's minute accompanying the Report :—

The Anglo-Vernacular, or, as it is now called, the English Middle Examination, was, in the year under report, revised with the intention

of making it lead up to the Entrance Examination of the University, instead of itself being, as in previous years, a test of a final stage of education. This has necessitated the teaching, through the medium of English, of history, geography and mathematics, so that a practical knowledge of English is essential to success. Two years' notice was given of the change, but not only were boys who had received an insufficient grounding in English under the old system, hindered by their want of acquaintance with the language, but the lower masters themselves, who had been for long accustomed to teach in the Vernacular, found it difficult to impart instruction through the newly-introduced medium. This change in system explains the marked falling off in the percentage of successful candidates from 41 to 27. The diminution in the number of students presenting themselves for the examination is explained by the introduction of an enhanced fee rate into middle classes, and the inauguration in 1889 of a system of regular examination for each class which had the effect of retarding promotion. The influence of this examination on primary classes is discussed in paragraph 43 of your report. Mr. Boutflower, whose report you quote, is of the opinion that it is of great service in bringing to notice defects in the teaching, the principal being that it develops the memory at the expense of the reasoning faculties. At this examination again, both Oudh and the 3rd Circle show a poor result. In the Vernacular Middle Examination, the general percentage of success improves, whilst the number of candidates again falls off. The zila school of Sahāranpur and Etāwah and the aided schools at Balrāmpur and Benares (Bengali Tolā) were successful at both the Matriculation and the English Middle Examinations.

Physical education is said to be making good progress, wherever reasonable facilities exist for its cultivation. The Sitāpur Boarding House attached to the zila school is said to be falling into disrepair: "it is presumed that steps have been taken to bring the matter to the notice of the District Board;" the Boarding House at Bareilly "is stated to have been badly managed." The total number of boarders has fallen below that returned in 1885-86, but a larger proportion are self-supporting. That fact more than compensates for the numerical falling off. The number of native girls under instruction has slightly fallen off. "It is the general opinion that, as compared with aided schools for native girls, State schools are a failure, and this is no doubt due to the fact that, in the former, the teaching staff, often consisting of English ladies, is incomparably more efficient than in the latter.

General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1890-91.

THE essential moral of this Report is that, "though you may drive a horse to water, you cannot make him drink of the spring, Pierian or other, tendered for his acceptance." The Bengalee wants as much public instruction as he can get *gratis*, by way of a stepping-stone to employment in a Government office, or other mechanical qualification to the means of earning a lazy livelihood. For education, in itself and for itself, as a discipline and adjunct to catholic culture, he does

not care—Haply on some millennial morning our rulers and Governors will awake to discovery of this patent fact, and—“act according.” *Then*, there may be some hope of intellectual practicality being derived from self-supporting schools and colleges, something like due appreciation of the worth of intellectual ware that has been paid for. Meanwhile Sir Alfred Croft's statistics show that, while public scholastic institutions in Bengal have increased on paper by 145, the muster-roll of pupils attending them has, since last year, diminished by 22,980—figures which are officially admitted to be “significant,” and not susceptible of explanation by the re-appearance of primaries on the list of Koran schools.”

It appears that the total expenditure on education in Bengal, including all disbursements from public and private sources, such as the fees and contributions paid to the University and in all public schools, amounted to Rs. 85,74,000—a decrease of Rs. 1,69,000, as compared with the preceding year. The expenditure from public sources rose from Rs. 32,37,000 to Rs. 32,56,000, the increase being almost entirely from Provincial revenues; the private contributions fell from Rs. 55,06,000 to Rs. 53,07,000; the greater part of this decrease was in the fee-receipts of the schools. The whole difference of two lakhs represents a merely nominal decline, as both the fee-receipts and the other sources of income were erroneously excluded from the returns of the year in unaided high English schools for Europeans. Collegiate, secondary, primary, special education, all cost less than in the preceding year, but Rs. 63,000 more were spent on female education. Municipal funds contributed Rs. 9,000 less than last year, and the same uncertainty, that has before been noticed, continues to attach to their figures. The Lieutenant-Governor would be glad to hear that the difficulty of obtaining authentic figures from the Municipalities had been surmounted.

940 Chief Gurus and Inspecting Pundits paid 270,388 visits to schools during the year under review. It is suggested that these figures “should represent a considerable amount of inspection.” Let us hope that they do represent something beyond a cut-and-dry formalism undertaken in the interest of Pay Bills. Wasn't it Varro who formulated the axiom *Nomen numen*? Sir Charles Elliott's main gubernatorial failing appears to us to be his absolute reliance on the efficacies of machinery—in educational as well as in other State concerns; and, with the exception of Mr. Tawney, whose modesty debars him from that front seat in the Educational Coach for which his scholarly quietism and matured experiences so eminently fit him, Sir Charles Elliott's educational advisers appear to be all deplorably abandoned to worship and exaltation of mere instructional machinery, in and for itself, and without regard to ulterior consequence; we quote, in extenso, para. 7 of the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution on Sir Alfred Croft's Report:—

Sir A. Croft has made an interesting comparison between the candidates for the A course in Literature and those for the B course in

Science. There has been a steady decline of late years in the number of candidates taking up Science, both in aided and unaided institutions; so that, with hardly an exception, it may be said that Science is no longer taught in unaided colleges. On the other hand, the results of the examinations for the last four years have been steadily in favour of the B course candidates. As the Science candidates have succeeded better than those of the A course in the subject of English, in which they are examined in common, the Director is disposed to infer, not that the B course was the easier, but rather that it was chosen by the best candidates. The Director's views on this question are valuable, and his criticism is thorough. But some of the numerical results exhibited in his report differ strangely. It may perhaps be suggested that the B course is the more expensive to teach and requires costly apparatus, so that the result turns very much on the means available for instruction: where they are complete, as at the Presidency College, the mind is well developed and the students do better, even in English; where they are incomplete, as at Dacca and Hooghly, the training is more superficial. If the Director's view as to the mental superiority of those who take up the B course is correct, it is very encouraging, as a training in Science has long been recognized as the great desideratum for the Indian mind, which has shown a greater inclination for literary and philosophic pursuits than for observation and the study of facts. Another reason is alleged for the unpopularity of this course, in the greater ease with which those who have passed in English and Mathematics, gain posts under Government, and teaching appointments in schools. This is a true and apposite remark. It is to be hoped, however, that a better time is coming for Physical Science and for the diversity of occupations which must follow from the development of factories, mines, and other industrial occupations in the country.

Sir Charles Elliott, we note, deems it a good sign of the times that Municipal contributions to secondary education do not increase, since, "until adequate provision is made for primary, it is no part of the duty of Municipalities to contribute large sums to secondary education." We recollect learning somewhere, long years ago, 'that two negatives do not make an affirmative.' *Nous avons changé tout cela*, as Napoleon the Third said. Here is historic Mrs. Partington rediviva in a cheerfully namby-pamby spirit:—

The Lieutenant-Governor is aware that the evils of insubordination and laxity of discipline were chiefly conspicuous in the large towns, and he hears with pleasure that they have lately diminished. But he is not prepared to accept implicitly the optimistic view in which the officers of the department indulge, to the effect that these shortcomings are confined to schools under private management. During the past year, facts have been brought to his knowledge, of which he was constrained to take immediate and serious notice. He has heard bad accounts of the state of discipline among the pupils in some Government schools, of the want of respect of the boys for their teachers, of their rudeness to gentlemen, and especially to ladies, out of doors; and he is quite prepared, if a bad case of this kind is proved and warnings are neglected, to close any school or college where such a punishment is required. He fully concurs with the Director that instances of misconduct on the part of school-masters should be vigorously dealt with, and that any organized riot, such as occurred in one of the training schools, should meet with condign punishment. It is to be hoped that the labours of the Central Text-book Committee, who selected a number of text-books from the authorized list as having a definite moral tendency, will conduce to the desired results.

The main statistics of Female Education are entered in the following table:

CLASS OF SCHOOLS.	EXPENDITURE.					Average number on the rolls monthly.	Average daily attendance.	Number of pupils on the rolls on the 31st March 1891.	Number of schools.	TOTAL.
	From public funds.			From private funds.						
	Provincial revenue.	District funds.	Municipal funds.	Fees.	Other sources.					
Managed by Government ...	Rs. 19,444	Rs.	Rs. 120	Rs. 5,708	Rs. 797	Rs. 26,069				
Ditto by District or Municipal Boards ...	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. 1,289	Rs.	Rs. 55	Rs. 1,344				
Aided by Government or by District or Municipal Boards	72,028	25,467	8,172	20,032	1,87,655	3,13,314				
Unaided ...	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. 287	Rs. 10,073	Rs. 10,360				
	91,472	25,467	9,581	26,027	1,98,540	351,087				
	1,26,520			2,24,567						
Figures for 1887-88 ...	1,17,214			1,90,659						
Ditto for 1888-89 ...	1,21,106			1,88,915						
Ditto for 1889-90 ...	1,20,171			2,06,788						
	4,85,011			8,10,929						

Besides the figures above, there are also 32,417 girls in boys' schools. The net result of the year is a gain of 85 schools and of 502 pupils. The cost of the education of girls, as compared with boys, is much higher. One young lady passed the B.A. examination and four the First Examination in Arts from the Bethune College.

Report on the Administration of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st March 1891.

THE general summary prefacing the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Administration Report for the year ending 31st March, 1891, is a statesman-like State paper, expounding the policy of administration pursued by Sir Auckland Colvin, in a spirit evidencing catholic breadth of purview and insight. His Honor has not been unmindful that he is Chief Commissioner of Oudh, as well as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and he has been assiduous in endeavouring, as far as possible, to fuse outcomes of alien Law and Indian conceptions of Right into compatibility, and so to promote the popularity of foreign rule amongst classes and masses prone even yet, rent suits notwithstanding, to look back with some modicum of fond regret on bygone usage and the fallen fortunes of a feudal aristocracy which—whether rightly or wrongly is not the question—had, by virtue of custom and tradition, gained a hold on the regard of the people.

In the districts of Garhwāl and Kumaun scarcity—prevented from developing into Famine only by the Lieutenant-Governor's ability to rise superior to Free Trade cant and the letter of the law of Political Economy—was a prominent feature of the year reported on. Forethought and careful arrangement successfully coped with the danger. Here is the economic lesson of the campaign:—

The experience gained at two periods of scarcity, namely, in 1877 and 1890, points to the following conclusions:—Firstly, that the grain stocks in the hands of the people are not sufficient ordinarily to maintain them for a longer period than six months. Secondly, although there may be cash, or jewellery which can be converted into cash, in the hands of the villagers, the amount must not be sanguinely overestimated. Though, on the latter occasion, owing to the rains which fell in April and May, it was not necessary to open relief works on any sensible scale, further experience is wanted as to the period of time within which they would, had they been so opened, have been resorted to, and as to the numbers who from want of cash or security would have been driven to such works. Thirdly, in the event of scarcity recurring, no reliance whatever must be placed on the efforts of the people themselves, or of grain merchants, whether resident in the hills or plains, to stock the province with grain. Individuals in considerable numbers will exert themselves to purchase from markets at the foot of the hills the grain necessary for the consumption of themselves and their families for a period: but no markets for the use of the people are available, or will be established by their own efforts. Government must undertake all measures necessary for supplying grain to the two districts of Garhwāl and Kumaun, the latter of which is now known as the Almora District. Fourthly, all stocks to be laid down in depôts in the interior of the hills should be in those depôts before the rains commence: as, during the rains, transport on any considerable scale is suspended. Fifthly, communication between

Rāmnaḡar and Kotdwāra respectively and the interior of the hills should be, as funds permit, from time to time improved. While there is no want of bridle roads, cart roads are wanting in Garhwāl; and the difficulty of transport of considerable masses of grain is extremely great.

Sir Auckland Colvin makes note, when dealing with the rates of market prices throughout his satrapy, during the period of scarcity, that, while the price of wheat was lower than might have been expected, the effect of high prices on kharif staples made itself felt, not only in urban communities and among agricultural labourers, but among the farming classes also: it always will, when their outturn of crop is insufficient, to furnish them with food for the year.

Disassociation of executive and judicial functions is a measure of reform the expediency of which is now so generally recognised that it has outgrown the argumentative stage. It suffices to say that "the Lieutenant-Governor had occasion during his tour in Oudh in the winter of 1888-89, to observe, in more than one direction, the effect of the pressure of judicial work on Commissioners in the discharge of their other functions. It was apparent that, owing to the heavy call upon their time for the discharge of their judicial duties, the details of the administrative business of their divisions were less within the grasp of Commissioners in Oudh than was desirable, or is usual elsewhere. Two of the four Commissionerships were accordingly abolished, and the number of Judges was increased from four to six, the scale of emoluments being correspondingly modified."

Oudh Revenue work was transferred from the North-Western Provinces Secretariat to the Board of Revenue because "nothing could be more unsatisfactory in its operation than the direct discharge of executive work by the chief controlling authority; and no machinery is less suited to its performance than the Secretariat of the Local Government, which is absorbed in other business, and is only able to perform mechanically the administrative duties which, to be properly discharged, should be brought within the immediate sphere of an officer's observation, and be subjected to the test of his local inquiries and opportunities of personal investigation."

To assist the Board through the extra work thrown on it, the appointment of a Joint Secretary was sanctioned. At the same time the status of the Secretary was changed, he and his new colleague being graded, respectively, among the 2nd Grade Magistrates and 2nd Grade Deputy Commissioners.

"By section 39 of Act XX of 1890 the jurisdiction of Munsifs was extended from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000: power being given to the Local Government, under certain circumstances, to extend it to suits not exceeding Rs. 2,000, and similarly, to extend the

jurisdiction of a Subordinate Judge to all original suits cognizable by the Civil Courts. It was enacted that an appeal from a decree or order of a Subordinate Judge in an original suit or proceeding, and when appeal is allowed by law, shall lie (a) to the District Judge where the value of the suit in which, or in any proceeding arising out of which, the decree or order was made does not exceed Rs. 5 000, and (b) to the Judicial Commissioner in any other case. An appeal from a decree or order of a Munsif, when an appeal is allowed by law, will ordinarily lie to the District Judge, but power is reserved in certain cases to transfer such appeals to the Subordinate Judge. It was further enacted that from decrees passed under Act XXII of 1886, as amended by Act XX of 1890, by District Judges in appeals from the decisions of Revenue Courts, an appeal should lie to the Judicial Commissioner in all cases in which a second appeal is allowed by the Code of Civil Procedure and subject to the provisions of the Indian Limitation Act, 1877."

The unwieldy Benares Division was partitioned, and out of it a new Commissionership created for Gorakhpur, Basti, and Azamgarh; to which Jaunpore,—chopped away from the Allahabad circle,—was added. This partition had long been a desideratum. The amount of rent appeals alone, in ante-partition days in the old Division—was almost equivalent to the combined suits of similar character arising in three others—Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand. Changes were made in the status of the Commissioner of Excise and Stamps (who is also Inspector-General of Registration) of which the object was to provide for the inclusion of that officer in the Grade of Magistrate and Collector, so that facilities might be given for his re-entering the ranks of district administration should it be at any time desirable to transfer him.

"Opportunity was, at the same time, taken to raise the pay of the lowest grade of Deputy Commissioner in Oudh from Rs. 1,333 to Rs. 1,666. The salaries of Deputy Commissioners in Oudh were fixed originally on the understanding that at least half were to be officers lent from the Army, or promoted from the Uncovenanted Service. Those fields of recruitment, however, had been closed for nearly 20 years, and the abolition of the grade of Rs. 1,333 per mensem formed the last link to complete the assimilation of the form of administration in Oudh to that of a regulation province. District Officers in Oudh find themselves in charges not appreciably less onerous than those of the North-Western Provinces"

Coming events cast their shadows before: here is official adumbration of a new judicial ordering:—

The proposal to bring the Province of Oudh within the jurisdiction

of the High Court of the North-Western Provinces, had been for some time before the Government, and it was not until the close of 1889, that it was intimated to this Government that the proposal had, for the present, been abandoned; and an alternative measure was suggested to this Government, *viz.*, that a Chief Court, consisting of two Judges, should be established in Oudh, whose salaries and *status* would be on the same footing as the salaries and *status* of the Judges of the Panjab Chief Court. This arrangement was ultimately adopted by the Government of India, and the Chief Court at present consists of a Judicial Commissioner and an Additional Judicial Commissioner, the former on a salary of Rs. 3,500 per month; while the salary of the latter is Rs. 3,333½ per month. It remains to be seen whether this experiment will meet the judicial needs of the provinces. Should it fail, further ground will have been provided for the transfer of Oudh to the jurisdiction of the High Court of the North Western Provinces, a step which undoubtedly is a question only of time. Railway communication has closely united the two Provinces; and although in many respects they may differ, there are no such vital difficulties as to justify their remaining under the jurisdiction of separate Courts. The Province of Oudh, whatever may be the objections of one or other of its inhabitants, will greatly benefit by being transferred to a Court of final appeal necessarily stronger than that which at present exists within its limits; and one united Bar will probably be more effective than a Bar distributed, as at present, over two centres. When the judicial union of the two Provinces takes place, it will be necessary either to establish, as was formerly proposed, a Bench of the High Court in Lucknow; or to arrange that the High Court, sitting in Lucknow, should have jurisdiction over the united Provinces; or that the High Court, sitting in Allahabad, should have such jurisdiction. The larger of the two Provinces, whether in area, revenue or population, is the North-West; and while Lucknow shows little sign of regaining its former prosperity, Allahabad is a prosperous and vigorous city. At the census of 1881, the total population of Allahabad was 150,338: at the census of 1891 the population had grown to 164,513. The population of Lucknow at the census of 1881, was 239,773: in 1891 the population was 249,564. The fact that the buildings of the High Court exist already in Allahabad will prove a not unimportant factor when the question is ultimately to be decided. Meanwhile the Chief Court of Oudh, as re-constituted by Act XIV of 1891, has entered on its new existence: and some little time must elapse before experience shows whether it can be allowed to remain as now re-organized, or whether further changes are called for.

All Indian Governments, when directly confronted with responsibility for the working of the local self-government experiment, have to determine whether local self-governing bodies within their jurisdiction shall be allowed to administer vestry affairs in a congenial state of insanitation, or shall be coerced into respect for the laws of health. Sir Auckland Colvin prefers straightforwardness to cheap popularity in the matter. He is aware that the stock excuse for do-nothingness—the poverty of large numbers of town residents—is not merely and baldly a specious plea for the blind conservatism that has acquired sanctity from long usage: he is willing to allow that poverty is a factor to be recognised in determination of the points at issue between Boards of Health and District Boards. On the

other hand, firmly believing, as he does, that health is worth more to communities than wealth, *sua si bona morint*, he is determined to do what in him lies to ameliorate "the insanitary and dangerous condition in which the people entrusted to the stewardship of his governance—wallow. And he points out that the rights and privileges conferred on Municipalities by the legislation of 1883, carry with them corresponding duties and obligation, prominent among which are those connected with the sanitation of towns of which the health has been confided to Local Boards. Moreover, the facilities for obtainment of funds necessary to this end that have been granted to Municipalities, have removed the plea which might formerly have been urged in regard to the severe terms on which loans were aforetime procurable. It was found that in one form or another such increase of taxation as was necessary, could be adopted without unduly pressing *on the poorer classes of inhabitants.*" The italics are ours.

Thirty-and-half-lakhs of rupees were spent on Public Works. Concerning which it may be noticed that the Railway lines from Jaunpur, *via* Rai Bareili, to Lucknow, and from Bareili *via* Râmpore to Muradabad, will, when completed, materially shorten the through distance by the Oudh and Rohilkund Railway, and will thus enable that line to compete for traffic with the East India Railway. The Public Works Department was allowed to dabble with a concern æsthetic :—

The coloured marble mosaics and the fine inlay work at the mausoleum of Agra, known as the tomb of Itmad-ud-daula, had (owing to the imperfect way in which the pieces were originally set) become loosened by time, and thousands of the stones had fallen and been broken and lost or been taken away. The loose and damaged portions have been repaired and restored, the original patterns being faithfully re-produced. The "setting" has been executed, with great care, by an improved process.

"A new cart road from the Brewery to Naini Tal was commenced and vigorously pushed on. The sides of the Kalè Khan spur, up which the former cart road ascended to Naini Tal, have for years been slipping, and in the rains of 1890 it became evident that a fresh alignment was absolutely necessary. The new portion will be $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length to its junction with the existing road ; it will have an easy gradient (1 in 25), and pass over comparatively firm and stable ground. It is expected to be completed and metalled by the rains of 1892."

The Maharaja of Bhartpore, a fine, old-crusted survival of Hindustani chieftainship, is matter-of-fact logical and uncompromising in his adhesion to old faiths and usages. And, we take it, readers of the following excerpt from His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution, will agree with us in thinking that, in his conflict with the resources of 19th century civi-

lization, His Highness has, so far, scored victory all along the line :—

The villages in the Agra District have been mostly thrown out of cultivation by the invasion of hordes of wild cattle, deer and pigs from the neighbouring lands, which have been allowed to lapse into jungle in the Bhartpur State, where the Maharaja allows cattle to roam unchecked over a large area of country, depopulating his own villages and the adjoining villages in British territory, and refuses to take any measures with a view to putting an end to this barbarous pest. The matter was brought by the Local Government to the attention of the Government of India. Landlords and cultivators in the neighbourhood, being chiefly Hindus, will not shoot the wild cattle or allow them to be shot ; and the Bhartpur Darbar has failed to assist in any measures having for their object the removal of this nuisance of its own creation. The area affected by the depredations of the wild animals mentioned, extends to no less than 42,972 acres, and measures necessary to revise the land revenue demand in consequence of land having fallen out of cultivation, led to the reduction of land revenue in the area concerned from Rs. 53,480 to Rs. 44,360. A barbed wire fence of sufficient height has been tentatively put up during the cold season of 1890-91 by this Government, at a cost, in round figures, of Rs. 49,000, along $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Agra and Muttra Districts. The Lieutenant-Governor examined it when in camp in the winter of 1890-91, and found it to be well constructed, with a deep ditch in front of it, and already useful in keeping out wild animals. Should this fence prove effective, it will be necessary to continue it along so much of the British frontier as joins the Bhartpur State in this direction, and is exposed to the ravages of its wild cattle and wild game. Probably not less than Rs. 40,000 will have to be expended for this object ; and if, as is probable, the creation of the fence, which is impassable to wild cattle and difficult of passage to all animals, throws back upon Bhartpur territory alone the calamity of its wild animals, it may be hoped that the Bhartpur Darbar will contrive at length to find some means of putting an end to the nuisance which at present it encourages. It may be added here that the experiment, so far as it has been carried out, has proved very successful ; the fencing having stood the test of the rainy season, and a considerable area of land having been brought under cultivation. The fence is provided with gates where it crosses any important road, and care has been taken to minimise the inconvenience of obstruction to such traffic as takes place within its limits.

It is pleasant to read that the assistance of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund has been "of the greatest value." All the larger and many of the middle class and smaller Districts have established Local Branches, which are affiliated to the Provincial Branch of the Fund : about one-half of the Province has now affiliated itself, and in every District so affiliated a Hospital for Females has either been built, or is in course of construction. The accommodation provided for women patients "is now as good as it was before inefficient ;" in some Districts superior to that furnished for males. This is as it should be.

Here is the outline of an experiment that has eventuated in a Draft Bill to be submitted to the Government of India, recom-

mending a new scheme of Honorary Magistrates and Village Courts in selected districts :—

During the year an officer (Mr. Evans) was deputed to enquire into the working of the system of Village Munsifs in Madras and Bombay. The expediency of introducing the system in these Provinces has been urged for some years on the attention of this Government by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyad Mahmud. After calling for the opinions of the officers most competent to advise, the Local Government decided on deputing Mr. Evans to Madras and Bombay in the winter of 1890-91, in order to examine on the spot the working of these Village Courts, and to advise the Government as to the possibility or advisability of extending the system to these Provinces.

Mr. Evans presented his report towards the close of the year under review. The proposals before the Government are two-fold : (1) the appointment of Honorary Munsifs, to be selected from among retired officials or Native gentlemen of position, and to be invested with some of the powers of a Munsif, who should hold their Courts in the towns in which they reside ; (2) the appointment of Village Courts on the model of the Madras system. Although no Courts such as those of Honorary Munsifs at present exist in the North-Western Provinces, they do in Oudh. In Oudh, however, the individuals on whom the powers have been mostly conferred are Tálukdárs, who by no means form the majority of those who, under the proposed scheme, would become Honorary Munsifs. It would appear in Oudh, from the figures of suits instituted and disposed of, that the Honorary Courts have been less and less resorted to, so far as regards civil suits, in the quinquennial period ending with the year 1887. In rent suits they are little used at any time.

Volunteer corps recruitment was active. Rs. 2,77,000 were expended in the Government Press and Book Depôt—at which there were *no* bad debts. *A'propos* of the Fourth Estate it is written :—

The best wish that can be expressed for the Native Press is, that it should fall more and more into the hands of men of position and respectability, whether as proprietors or as editors. The few Native papers which are in the hands of men of this class, are those which are the best conducted : and at present this is the only guarantee against abuse of their position and privileges by proprietors and editors.

Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in the Boards and Committees (Committees) Department, No. 1064 H., dated 30th November 1891.

ONE Municipality has been abolished during the year under report. From a work-a-day point of regard, it does not appear that any violence would have been done to the public spirit, or popular instinct, or whatever it ought to be called, of the province, if 157 more had been consigned to limbo. A saving in printers' bills would, at any rate, have been secured. Meanwhile—

The Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to observe that in nearly all the reports which have been submitted, the subject of elections has received due attention : he cannot, however, pass over without remark, the large number of instances in which voters have been called

on to go to the poll, although the number of candidates did not exceed the number of vacancies to be filled,—a matter which seems to indicate some carelessness in the supervision of elections. Instances of this will be found in the cases of Kángra and Núrpur in the Kángra District; the Karnál Municipalities; Tandah in Hoshiárpur; Kahrór and Danyapur in Mooltan; Kalanaur in Gurdaspur; Kila Sobha Singh, Daska, Jamki and Pasrúr in Sialkot; Rawalpindi Municipality, Wards Nos. 3 and 7, and Hazro, Wards Nos. 1, 2 and 4. On the other hand, there is an apparent error of an opposite nature in the report regarding Bhera and Sahiwal, two minor Municipalities of the Shahpur District.

Later on in the report it is, however, observed without comment that “in the towns of Bhera and Sahiwal, no regular election was held, as the number of candidates was equal to the number of vacancies.” As last year, during the Bhera elections, the provisions of the criminal law had to be resorted to, to enforce order, His Honor would be glad to learn which of these two statements represents the actual facts.

In fourteen Municipalities the number of meetings of the *Patres Conscripti* was less than six, and 54 Municipal Committees failed to hold the minimum number of meetings prescribed by the Act for their regulation. We read—

In this connexion the Lieutenant-Governor regrets to be again compelled to notice the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in the Municipalities of Dera Ismail Khan. In last year's review, commenting on the fact that no meetings at all were held during the year 1889-90 in any of the minor Municipalities of that district, the Lieutenant-Governor observed that the explanation of the Deputy Commissioner (who is President of these Committees), that his time was too much taken up by trans-frontier affairs to convene meetings, could not be accepted. It was pointed out that it was not necessary that the President should be present at every meeting; that Section 21 of the Municipal Act enabled a Committee to hold meetings with the Vice-President as Chairman; and that, even if the Vice-President were absent, one of the members might preside. This year, however, it appears that none of the Municipal Committees in this district held more than three regular meetings, while Kuláchi held none at all; and explanation again given is, that the Deputy Commissioner's time was largely taken up with important political work.

In the Delhi Division, the working of Committees generally is said to have been satisfactory—“with the exception of Rewari and Hodal in the Gurgaon District, Gohána in Rohtak; and Umballa, Sadhaura and Ládwa,” which is much as if a Theatrical Manager, having advertized his company to play “Hamlet,” with the part of Hamlet, by particular desire, left out, should afterwards declare the *tamasha* to have been an unqualified success.

Punjab Municipalities are still avowedly very much *in statu pupillari*, as para. 10 of the State paper before us puts it:—

Rules regarding the qualifications of members were, as already observed, promulgated by Government for the Municipalities of Lahore and Mooltan. The model set of rules regarding such matters as registration of births and deaths, supervision of burial and burning grounds, and regulation of slaughter-houses, which were drafted by

Government, were generally adopted during the year by the Municipalities of the Jullundur, Ráwalpindi and Deraját Divisions. Several Municipalities, in the Ráwalpindi Division, framed rules of business, as did also the Municipalities of the Muzaffargarh and Jhang Districts and the Delhi and Hissar Municipal Committees. As regards the last-named Municipality, it is observed that, although rules of business are required to be passed by a special Committee, the Hissar Committee is reported to have held no special Committee during the year. Other matters, which have generally engaged the attention of Committees, were the regulation of new buildings, bonded-warehouses, rules dealing with refunds, and the evasion of octroi. Amended rules for regulating hackney carriages were passed by the Municipalities of Delhi, Jullundur, Siálkot, Ráwalpindi and Dera Gházi Khan. In the Simla Municipality, rules made under the Game Birds Protection Act, came in force during the year, and the rules relating to lodging houses were amended.

Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Punjab for the year 1890-91.

THE revenue of the Department was Rs. 8,34,370, the expenditure Rs. 6,63,544. The financial results are pronounced disappointing, though it is admitted that the shrinkage in income is not due to any fault in departmental working, but to a glutting of the timber market by private traders. What would Sir Charles Lyall have said? Even monopolies are no guarantee of a succession of what the Yankees call "booms." The following paragraph from the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution on the Report is statesmanlike:—

Forest fires, which were last year so diastrous, have this year been few and unimportant. This was to be expected, as, for some years after fires, the forests are less inflammable, and the punishments inflicted have at least a temporary effect, but in any case the character of the rainfall would have prevented extensive fires. There can be little doubt that in most cases these fires are intentional, but are not in one sense malicious. They are merely an obstinate persistence in an old practice intended to provide a fresh grass supply for cattle. In a correspondence with the Conservator, the Lieutenant-Governor expressed the opinion that in certain tracts, fire lines round the reserves, and the periodical firing under regulation of forest lands outside, were measures which should be tried. If the evil cannot be remedied in this way, it will be necessary to be patient with the people, and to be content if they are gradually induced to amend their ways. Arbitrary laws and severe and indiscriminate punishment would exasperate and alienate the population.

Annual Report of the Rail-borne Traffic of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st March 1891.

DURING the year under review exports "fell off by 34 lakhs of maunds, while the imports increased by considerably more than double that amount. The decrease in exports occurred principally in those of cotton, wheat, linseed and rapeseed to the ports, of rice to the Panjab and Rajputana,

and of gram and other grains, besides wheat and rice to Bengal and the Bombay Presidency ; while the increase in imports is almost wholly explained by larger imports of grain from Bengal, Panjab, Rajputana and the Central Provinces and the exclusion of Railway plant from the returns of the preceding year. The exports of sugar to the Panjab, Rajputana, Central Provinces and the Bombay Presidency were considerably in excess of those of the preceding year."

Report on the River-Borne Traffic of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and on the Inland Trade of Calcutta, and on the Trade of Chittagong and the Orissa Ports, for the year 1890-91.

THE following paragraphs, selected from this Report, summarize all the information at all worth having that its three or four hundred pages contain :—

Hides.—The falling off of 98,036 pieces in the hide trade as compared with the preceding year was due to a smaller demand in Calcutta.

Lac.—The falling off under this head amounted to 4,570 maunds, as compared with the previous year, and to 3,588 maunds on the figures for 1888 89. The heavy fall in prices in the Calcutta market probably restricted business.

Oilseeds.—The improvement noticed in the previous report was further extended during 1890-91, as shown below :—

		1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.
		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
Linseed	...	294	5,133	7,889
Mustard	...	1,951	7,230	9,565
Til or Jinjili	...	20,065	48,025	1,31,857
Other Oilseeds	...	1,589	4,623	37,260
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	...	23 899	65,011	186,571
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

As in 1889-90, so in the year under report, the exports of tilseed showed the largest increase. The entire supply was sent to Calcutta for local consumption. The exports of this article by sea have fallen to absolute insignificance.

Timber.—The fluctuation under this head was not important, the condition of the trade being stationary.

Silver.—The same cause which tended to the decrease in the imports of silver, viz., the larger use of *hoondees*, also operated towards the decline of the exports under this head.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Tribes and Castes of Bengal. By H. H. RISLEY, Indian Civil Service, Officier d'Académie Française. Ethnographic Glossary. Vols. I & II. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press. 1891.

MR. RISLEY is to be congratulated on the outcome of his philological labours which finds expression in the two well got up volumes that lie before us, and are as full of the good meat of research as the proverbial egg is popularly supposed to be of nutriment. These labours, however much inspired by love of the subjects dealt with, could have been no light ones. Mr. Risley writes modestly in his preface:—

I am painfully aware that in many respects the work is exceedingly imperfect, and can hardly claim to do more than map out and define, in view of further inquiry, the large field of research which had to be covered. In attempting, within a given time, to draw up an ethnographic description of the various castes and tribes found among the seventy millions of people inhabiting the territory administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, it is difficult, on the one hand, to secure complete information regarding all the groups which have to be dealt with, and, on the other, to avoid making general statements concerning castes as a whole, which are only true of particular sections of those castes. For this reason it has been decided to bring out at first an official edition, and to invite criticism, with the object of supplying omissions and correcting mistakes. All suggestions will be carefully considered, and the conclusions to which they give rise embodied in a second edition. It is hoped that criticisms may be sent in promptly enough for this second edition to be brought out within eighteen months' or two years' time. All communications on this subject should be addressed to me at the Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta.

There should be many readers of the *Calcutta Review* whom this advertisement will concern: accordingly we give it prominence.

The work is gracefully dedicated:—

To the memory of
DR. JAMES WISE.

Some time Civil Surgeon of Dacca,

This volume, embodying in part the results of his researches during thirteen years' residence in Eastern Bengal, is dedicated.

Mr. Risley's *catalogues raisonnés* embody the outcome of the first attempt yet made to apply to Indian ethnography methods of systematic research sanctioned by European Anthropologists, in which exogamy, endogamy, and totemism are prominent features, and lend colour and interest to the determination of the scientific doubts round which they cluster and ramify. Mr.

Risley is master of a lucid literary style, and the subjects he discusses lend themselves readily to picturesque treatment.

Some of the situations and vicissitudes of fortune of which he tells the story afford as complicated character studies, and are almost as sensational, as Ibsen's dramas. An introductory essay opens with an enquiry into the race basis of caste. As an exposition of the evolution of the working plans pursued, as well as by way of giving an idea of the setting adopted for some of the cameos arranged, we cannot do better than quote it :—

On a stone panel forming part of one of the grandest Buddhist monuments in India—the great tope at Sanchi—a carving in low relief depicts a strange religious ceremony. Under trees with conventional foliage and fruits, three women, attired in tight clothing without skirts, kneel in prayer before a small shrine or altar. In the foreground, the leader of a procession of monkeys bears in both hands a bowl of liquid and stoops to offer it at the shrine. His solemn countenance and the grotesquely adoring gestures of his comrades, seem intended to express reverence and humility. In the background four stately figures—two men and two women—of tall stature and regular features, clothed in flowing robes and wearing most elaborate turbans, look on with folded hands and apparent approval at this remarkable act of worship. Antiquarian speculation has for the most part passed the panel by unnoticed, or has sought to associate it with some pious legend of the life of Buddha. A larger interest, however, attaches to the scene, if it is regarded as the sculptured expression of the race sentiment of the Aryans towards the Dravidians, which runs through the whole course of Indian tradition and survives in scarcely abated strength at the present day. On this view the relief would belong to the same order of ideas as the story in the Ramayana of the army of apes who assisted Rama in the invasion of Ceylon. It shows us the higher race on friendly terms with the lower, but keenly conscious of the essential difference of type, and not taking part in the ceremony, at which they appear as patronising spectators. An attempt is made in the following pages to show that the race sentiment which this curious sculpture represents, so far from being a figment of the intolerant pride of the Brahman, rests upon a foundation of fact which scientific methods confirm, that it has shaped the intricate groupings of the caste system, and has preserved the Aryan type in comparative purity throughout Northern India.

Due attention has been paid to the progress and development of the great religious and social movement described by Sir Alfred Lyall as the gradual Brahmanizing of the aboriginal, non-Aryan, or casteless tribes—a movement that is held to be progressing on a large scale, although by no means maintaining uniform character throughout its sphere of action. In Bengal it includes at least four distinct processes :—

i. Leading men of some aboriginal tribe who have got on in the world manage to enrol themselves in one of the leading castes—Rajput, for choice. All that is essential to this object is impudence and outlay for the salary and perquisites of a Brahman priest, who, for such consideration, supplies them with a mythical ancestor and a family miracle. After a generation

or two of diligent and judicious pushing, this society virtue is rewarded by intermarriage of their daughters, if not with pure Rajputs, at least with a superior set of manufactured Rajputs whose promotion into the Brahmanical system dates far enough back for the steps by which it was gained to have been forgotten. Is it not written in *Hudibras* —

“ For sure the pleasure is as great
In being cheated as to cheat ? ”

2. A number of aborigines embrace the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal name, and becoming Vaishnabs, Ramayats, and the like.—

3. A whole tribe of aborigines, or a large section of a tribe, enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism under the style of a new caste, which, though claiming an origin of remote antiquity, is readily distinguishable by its name from any of the standard and recognized castes. Thus the great majority of the Kochh inhabitants of Rungpore now invariably describe themselves as Rajbansis or Bhanga Kshatriyas—a designation which enables them to represent themselves as an outlying branch of the Kshatriyas who fled to North-Eastern Bengal in order to escape from the wrath of Parasu-Rāma. They claim descent from Raja Dasarath, father of Rāma; they keep Brahmans, imitate the Brahmanical ritual in their marriage ceremony, and have begun to adopt the Brahmanical system of *gotras*. In respect of this last point, they are now in a curious state of transition, as they have all hit upon the same *gotra* (Kasyapa), and thus habitually transgress the primary rule of the Brahmanical system, which absolutely prohibits marriage within the *gotra*. But for this defect in their connubial arrangements—a defect which will probably be corrected in a generation or two, as they and their *purohīts* rise in intelligence,—there would be nothing in their customs to distinguish them from Aryan Hindus, although there has been no mixture of blood, and they remain thoroughly Kochh under the name of Rajbansi.

4. A whole tribe of aborigines, or a section of a tribe, become gradually converted to Hinduism, without, like the Rajbansis, abandoning their tribal designation. This is what is happening among the Bhumij of Western Bengal. Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language, and now speak only Bengali: they worship Hindu gods in addition to their own (the tendency being to relegate the tribal gods to the women), and the more advanced among them employ Brahmans as family priests. They still retain a set of totemistic exogamous subdivisions closely resembling those of the Mundas and the Santāls, but they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the subdivisions denote, and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned in favour of more aristocratic designations. The tribe will then have become a caste, and will go on stripping itself of all customs likely to betray its true descent. The physical characteristics of its members will alone survive. After their transformation into a caste, the Bhumij will be more strictly endogamous than they were as a tribe, and even less likely to modify their physical type by intermarriage with other races.

By way of illustration, this excerpt from Mr. Risley's second volume may be taken :—

Sūraj-bansi.—This title, properly denoting one of the two main stocks of Rājputs, has been assumed within comparatively recent times

by a hybrid Mongoloid caste, claiming to be the aborigines of Kamrup, and now inhabiting the jungly tracts of Bhowál in Eastern Bengal. According to Dr. Wise, from whose notes this article is condensed, the Súraj-bansís were formerly regarded as akin to the Kochh-mandái, but the Brahmans, taking advantage of their credulity and ignorance, led them to believe that they were descendants of the Chhatris who, by throwing away their sacred thread, escaped the axe of Parasuráma. Accordingly, in 1871, a body of representative Suraj-bansís went to the house of their zamíndár, Kalí Náráyana Rái, Rái Bahádúr, a Srotriyá Brahman, and requested him to reinvest them with the sacred cord. An offer of five hundred rupees was made, but declined. Disappointed at this unexpected rebuff, they retired to consult, and afterwards raised their offer to two thousand. This sum allayed the scruples of the Brahman, the sacred cord was with due solemnity presented, and ever since the Suraj bansí have assumed the high rank of Chhatrí, to the great disgust of the Hindus of those parts.

The Kochh-mandái, who reside in the same jungle, assert that a few years ago the Suraj bansí were known as Kochh-mandái, and even at present Bansí is their ordinary appellation.

Impulsion towards, and absorption into, the Brahmanical caste system on the part of non-Aryan races went on, probably, centuries before philology was thought of, though its operations are now-a-days actively at work only in very backward parts of the country. Arguing from some of the facts now observable in this connection, Mr. Risley considers it likely that some of the castes alleged by Manu to be the result of more or less complicated crosses are really tribes that had—like the Rajbansís—lost their identity. Physical characteristics are the safest guides to tribal identity, and anthropometry has proved a most valuable aid in ethnographic research. As Mr. Nesfield pertinently remarks—in his *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*—language is no test of race; and the question of caste is not one of race at all, but of culture. This “Aryan brother,” dear to Exeter Hall platforms, anthropometrically weighed in the balances, resolves himself into an abstraction even more mythical and nebulous than a solar myth. Dr. Paul Topinard’s *Les Éléments d’Anthropologie Générale* is referred to as a good manual of practical instruction in measurement, the nasal index (height and breadth of nose combined) being suggested as the most useful to secure. It is not a little curious, by the way, to find Mr. Risley deriving the Venus Anadyomene, the Laokoon, &c., directly from Anthropometry, which was the accepted artistic canon for ideal proportions of the human form divine at Carnac and Memphis, and was thence translated to Hellas; thence, again, to be bequeathed to Leonardo da Vinci, Albert Durer and Jean Cousin, and finally to become Mechanical Inquisitor General to the Prefecture of Police at Paris, and a test for the identification of criminals.

A’propos of Anthropometry, in the book before us it is declared to be scarcely a paradox to lay down, as a law of caste

organization in Eastern India, that a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose.

For reasons that have seemed adequate, Aryan and Dravidian are the designations employed in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* to differentiate the two leading types of race found in the provinces dealt with. This departure from Mux Müllerian standard is justified on the score of the universal practice of Indians themselves, and meets with support from the example of Professor Sayce, who, on a recent occasion, did not hesitate to speak of the Aryan race as an established ethnic aggregate :—

The dominant Aryan society must have exercised a strong attraction on the Dravidians, but the only caste into which the latter could ordinarily expect to be received would be the Sudra. Their admission into this group would, doubtless, have been facilitated by resort to the fiction, characteristic of all early societies, that they had belonged to it all along. But such accretions must have swelled the caste to unwieldy dimensions, and thus have introduced the tendency to disintegration, or fission, which affects all social aggregates in India. In course of time, as new groups split off, and took to themselves new names, the original caste would have been, so to speak, lost in the crowd, and only a small nucleus would have retained its original designation. In support of the hypothesis that the survivors of the ancient Sudras are to be sought among the higher strata of the so-called mixed castes, we may point to the fact that a group of castes whose physical characters approach more closely to the Aryan than to the Dravidian type, still cling to the name Sudra, and regard themselves as descendants of the classical fourth caste.

Mr. Risley derides the theory which incontinently derives mixed castes from an intricate series of crosses between members of the original four. Procrustes-like, its promoters, having once got hold of the machinery of a formula, insisted on making it adaptable to all heterogeneous lengths and breadths and vicissitudes. Yet its initial principle was correct in the main ; and it fortunately happens that its practical workings can still be observed among a number of Dravidian tribes which, " though not yet drawn into the vortex of Brahmanism," have been more or less infected by it, and, as regards intertribal marriages, seem to be in a stage of development through which the Hindus themselves have passed. For, though a man may marry a woman of another tribe, children born of such union do not become members of either the paternal or maternal groups, but belong to a distinct endogamous aggregate, the name of which often denotes the precise cross-breed by means of which it was started. Among the large tribe of Mundas there are no less than nine such groups.

"The point to be observed is that the sub-tribes formed by inter-tribal crossing are from an early stage complete endogamous units, and that they tend continually to sever their slender connection with the parent group, and stand forth as independent tribes. As soon as this comes to pass, and a functional or

territorial name disguises their mixed descent, the process by which they have been formed is seen to resemble closely that by which the standard Indian tradition seeks to explain the appearance of other castes alongside of the classical four."

A theory of the origin of Indian caste here proffered, is that it was in India alone, of all countries, adopted as a safeguard of racial purity, because it was in India alone that Aryan settlers were brought into contact with an unequivocally black aboriginal race—a mingling of blood with whom must needs be ruinous, alike politically and constitutionally, to the invading body politic, as well as degrading. Colour (*varna*) is used still by Hindus as the word equivalent for caste. In a word, the motive principle of Indian caste is to be sought in the antipathy of a higher race for an inferior one, of the fair skinned Aryan for the black Dravidian.

Special attention has been paid to the marriage usages of tribes and castes, and in that connection a great deal of curious and recondite information about totems, eponyms, the relation of a habit of female infanticide to exogamy, Dravidian prohibited degrees in marriage, &c., &c., has been collected and collated. Here is a sample, derived from the customs of the Darjeeling Hill tribes:—

Two men contract friendship by a special ritual, at which a Brahman, or, when the parties are Buddhists, a Lama, officiates, and reads *mantras* or mystic formulæ, while the two friends exchange rupees, handkerchiefs, or scarves, and bedaub each other between the eyebrows with the paste, made of rice and curds, which is used in the marriage ceremony. The effect of the union is that the friends are reckoned as brothers, and not only is intermarriage between the two families prohibited for several generations, but the members of each family may not marry with the *thar*, or exogamous section, to which the other belongs. Any breach of the rule is punished in British territory by exclusion from caste. In Nepal, I am informed, more severe punishments, such as death or slavery, are inflicted.

The totem's mission is to provide machinery for giving effect to the rule of exogamy ; and it presents itself to view in India as *one* class out of a number of classes or types of sept-names:—

Now, among these various classes of sept-names, we find the Tibetans and Limbus of the Eastern Himalayas and the people of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong using names which profess to be, and in fact are, nothing more nor less than nicknames of the original ancestors of septs. Other castes use names which are the names of certain village or communal offices which the ancestor of the sept is supposed to have held. Others, again, use names of villages, groups of villages, or tracts of country which are similarly explained to be the names of settlements founded by the common progenitor. What can be simpler than to apply the same principle to the animal-names, which are also used to regulate exogamy, and to assume that these also are the names of founders of septs? This, in fact, is the explanation which the Limbus do give of the names of this type which are used by them, along with the unmistakeable nicknames instanced above. I can see

no reason for doubting its correctness, and I think we are justified in defining the totem, as we find it in India, as an ancient nick-name, usually derived from some animal, of the supposed founder of an exogamous sept, now stripped of its personal associations, and remembered solely in virtue of the part which it plays in giving effect to the rule of exogamy. To any one who deems it incredible that men should be called after animals, I would reply that, if savages are capable of believing, as we know they are, that men can transform themselves into animals at will, or can be so transformed by the agency of witchcraft, nothing would seem to them more natural and reasonable than to call a man by the name of an animal to which he bears some fancied resemblance. If the man so named were the head of a sept, the name would be perpetuated by its use in connexion with the rule of exogamy long after the man who originally bore it had been forgotten; and in a large tribe where new septs are continually being formed, the practice of naming them after animals would be kept alive by fiction and the force of habit, after the fashion of giving such names to individuals had died out. Moreover, when sept names came to be adopted without reference to any particular individual, but merely as symbols marking off a particular group for the purpose of the rule of exogamy, any sort of distinctive designation would do as well as the name of an animal. This would account for the number of queer totems found among the Mundas, with regard to some of which it is difficult to see how, from any point of view, they can ever have been looked upon as appropriate personal names.

That is Mr. Risley's idea on the subject: it is, at any rate, not far-fetched, and it appears to have a backing of common sense to recommend it. By the way, it is recorded of the Mahili-Munda, a sub-tribe of the Mundas, that they eat their totem, videlicet, a pig. The taboo is supposed to be satisfied by throwing away the porker's head, the rest of the animal being, by virtue of that act of renunciation, deemed lawful food.

The statutes, and local usages, and indicative rituals concerning widow remarriage in different districts, are concerns of more than common interest at the present time, and regard has been had to all points directly or indirectly affecting vexed questions, as also to those connected with infant marriages and betrothals. As to which usuetude, and *à propos* of hard sayings about it by Englishmen and English women in England, and of the Western World tendency, to assume that a population countenancing such a practice must be in a fair way towards moral degradation, it is suggested that criticism of this sort exaggerates greatly, being founded on considerable ignorance of the conditions of social life obtaining in modern India:—

As for love, that may come—and, from all one hears of Hindu unions, usually does come—as readily after marriage as before, provided that opportunities for falling in love with the wrong man are judiciously withheld. This may seem a cynical way of handling the matter, but it is the only way that accords with the lines of Oriental life as at present ordered, and it were folly to dream of making all things new.

The physical aspects of the objection to premature marriage, and their bearings on constitution and heredity, the cardinal points of the objection are, apparently, not considered.

Referring, in the body of his work, to the popular notion that the Bábhān of Behar is to the Brahman caste much as mock-turtle is to turtle soup, much as in some districts an inferior Rajput is styled Raut (the corruption of the name betokening the corruption of the caste), Mr. Risley pronounces such a notion to be at once refuted by the appearance and demeanour of the Bábhāns themselves, agreeing with Mr. John Beames that they are "a fine, manly race, with the delicate Aryan type of feature in full perfection." Our own experience leads us to the conclusion that this is just what they are not; precisely what they lack; especially the delicate features. Let anthropometry be judge between us. Mr. Risley is surely right in preferring the spelling *Musahur* to Mr. Nesfield's unphonetic *Mushera*; but we prefer Mr. Nesfield's derivation of the origin of the caste to Mr. Risley's. Specially interesting are the accounts of aboriginal tribes *e. g.*, the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, the Hos of Singbhum, some of the Hill tribes on the North Eastern frontier, such as the Lepchas of Darjeeling, described as pleasant enough companions from a sanitary point of regard in the rainy season; for then they are by way of being peripatetic, and "when they move about, and are frequently wet, they are clean and sweet." Deserving of notice are the Korwas of Sarguja—indigence tracing descent from the scarecrows set up in fields by the first men who raised crops in that part of the country to frighten wild animals away. Colonel Dalton failed to find among the Sarguja any tribal distinctions imposing restrictions on marriage. They sacrifice only to the spirits of their ancestors, and have no priests.

Mr. Risley has well earned the honours which the French Academy has awarded him for his scientific work. There are but few pages in *Tribes and Castes* that do not testify that the compliment paid him by the Parisian savants is a well deserved one.

Sermons out of Church. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." London: Macmillan & Co., and New York. 1891.

AN agreeable, thought-provoking book this, whether one agrees with, or would like to qualify, the conclusions come to in it. What we admire most about the limpid author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, is her reconciliation of honest sentiment with freedom from mawkish sentimentality. Even on the subject of babies, although she overworships them in a thoroughly womanly fashion, she manages to avoid namby-pambyism. Stage spangles are foreign to her nature; and to her best nature she is always true. Now, as ever, she is a preacher of altruism; but she construes that virtue

from the Hebrew into Righteousness, and is not deceived by the lazy, *laissez-faire* Gospel of faith without works, albeit that her religious faith in the unseen and unknowable is as strong as St. Augustine's "*credo quia incredibile*," and that a Spiritual Director of conscience has had an appreciable share in forming her opinions.

Marriage, for instance, is for her a sacrament irrevocable,—a binding together for ever and ever of two souls. Her reversion towards the strictest discipline of Brahmanism is, indeed, even more pronounced than this. Death—even King death, paramount absolver—may bring no release to the victim of parental tyranny, or error of immature youthful judgment.

Even if a wife, a husband, die a day after the ceremony uniting them has been solemnized in Church, the survivor may thereafter contract no second marriage—"the empty heart must remain empty for ever." It is an eminently loving woman who writes this: a woman gifted with large faculties for sympathy as well as for self-sacrifice; a woman of wide culture, who believes herself to be independent, and able to stand alone ungiddily in the whirligig of latter-day social revolutions; and yet she has no more been able to free her inner consciousness from priestly domination than have the ruck of our Calcutta University graduates! Let us be thankful that the Women's Rights agitation has not yet arrived at the climax of securing to women a right to legislate for men—or for women either. That is the moral of the incompatibility with her own times to be deduced from such part of the Sermon referring to the marriage sacrament as we have commented on.

It would be unfair to judge our sermoniser's Sermons out of Church by the standard of her feminine prejudices in favour of Molochian altar ordinances. But when she lays down *ex cathedra* law and canon, it behoves the critic to point out just limitations, necessary exceptions. It is a common enough error with sermonisers, to employ maps too large for their occasion, and this is an error into which the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, is now and again misled. In a dissertation on self-sacrifice, she denounces the *sin* of sacrifice in women, when it induces them to too great toleration of their husband's intuitive sybaritism. Such treatment of the disease renders them, it appears, even more selfish than it was Nature's intention that they should be. She writes: "It is apprently a law of the universe that the male animal should be always more or less a selfish animal." Mundane experiences differ. Our own lead us to the conclusion that there are quite as many selfish women in the little bits of the world in which we happen to have sojourned as there are

selfish men; also that the female "animal" afflicted with the vice is more exacting, and more callous to the suffering she inflicts on surrounding objects than her male compeer. May we not, indeed, assert, with colourable truth, that intense selfishness is the real root of maternal love? For we are but generalising in these illustrations, even as our author does; and exaggeration is inseparable from generalisations.

In the Sermon *Our Often Infirmities* it is remarked: "The common answer to that commonest of moans, 'I have such a bad cold,'—'Dear me! How did you catch it?'—often makes us cross enough. As if it could be any consolation in our sufferings to investigate how we got them!" With submission, having regard in our mind's eye to the nature of human nature, it *is* a comfort. And, over and above that superficiality, without investigation how can we suitably physic ourselves and get well, how try to safeguard ourselves against recurrence of a disqualification for either work or play? Sufferers from a really 'bad cold' know what a worse than hindrance it may prove to the prosecution of good work. At any rate, the practice of clinical medicine in our best-conducted hospitals is diametrically opposed to the *laissez-faire* philosophy indicated in the foregoing quotation.

The most notable essay in the collection is perhaps No. III, *How to Train up a Parent in the Way he should go*; a paradoxical homily, in the course of which much wholesome sense is mixed up with much impracticable high falutin; it having seemingly escaped the memory of the homilist that the domestic life of the latter end of the 19th century does not centre in primitively-fashioned, patriarchally-ruled village Auburns, and that middle-class fathers, having for the most part to work hard for a living, necessarily see little of their early-going-to-bed children, and *must*, in these days of keen competition, in a great measure entrust the bulk of the moral, as well as of the scholastic, training, of their boys and girls, to people who are virtually school-masters and school-mistresses, howsoever designated. Here is a passage from the aforesaid homily, which we very heartily endorse, in which parents are admonished to be:

Above all things, just; since, so deeply is implanted in the infant mind this heavenly instinct, that if I were asked what was most important in the bringing-up of a child, love or justice, I think I should say justice.

To be just is the very first lesson that a parent requires to learn. The rights of the little soul, which did not come into the world of its own accord, nor indeed was taken into consideration in the matter at all—for do any in marrying ever think of the sort of fathers or mothers they are giving to their offspring?—the rights of this offspring, physical, mental, and moral, are at once most obvious and least regarded. The new-born child is an interest, a delight, a pride;

the parents exult over it, as over any other luxury or amusement ; but how seldom do they take to heart the solemn responsibility of it, or see a face divine, as it were, looking out at them from the innocent baby-face, with the warning of Christ Himself—"Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him that a mill stone were hung about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea."

Pertinent, too, since too often forgotten, is this advice and commentary :—

The very first lesson a parent has to learn is, that whatever he attempts to teach, he must himself first practice. Whatever he wishes his child to avoid, he must make up his mind to renounce ; and that from the very earliest stage of existence, and down to the minutest things. In young children, the imitative faculty is so enormous, the reasoning power so small, that one cannot be too careful, even with infants, to guard against indulging in a harsh tone, a brusque manner, a sad or angry look. As far as is possible, the tender bud should live in an atmosphere of continual sunshine, under which it may safely and happily unfold, hour by hour, and day by day. To effect this, there is required from the parent, or those who stand in the parent's stead, an amount of self-control and self-denial—which would be almost impossible, had not Heaven implanted on the one side maternal instinct, on the other that extraordinary winning charm which there is about all young creatures, making us put up with their endless waywardness, and love them all the better the more trouble they give us.

The author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, is politico-economically sound on the subject of the wickedness of indulgence in promiscuous charity. In a chapter entitled *Benevolence—or Beneficence*—she inculcates the propriety of severely systematic economic orthodoxy in charitable well doing. We confess to a better appreciation of the worth of Roaring Dick's heterodox, unconventional benevolence, as told (*exempli gratia*) in Walter Besant's book, *Readymoney Mortiboy*. The story told, towards the conclusion of that novel, of Mr. Elder's purged and redeemed London slum is, to our thinking, a more cogent, as well as more practical, sermon than the one we find in these pages. The conclusion of that is, however, so good, that it must be quoted :—

Of course gratitude is a welcome thing ; in this weary world a most refreshing thing ; but it is not an indispensable thing. It warms the heart and cheers the spirit, but it has nothing to do with either benevolence or beneficence, nor is it the origin or end of either. The wisest people are they, who, though happy to get thanks, never expect them, and can do without them. Such may be deceived and disappointed, but they are never embittered ; because their motive lay deeper, and is higher, than anything belonging to this world. The truly benevolent man is he who, looking on all his charities, great or small, says only—in devout repetition of his Master's words—"I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do,"—not that which I gave myself to do, and not that which I did for myself, but that which Thou gavest me and I have done for Thee. To such the answer comes, even as in Lowell's touching ballad of "Sir Launfal :"—

"The Holy Supper is kept indeed
 In what we share with another's need ;
 Not what we give, but what we share,
 For the gift without the giver is bare ;
 Who gives himself with his alms, feeds three :
 Himself—his hungering neighbour—and ME."

My Brother's Keeper is a judicious exposition, in a pleasant style of the duties of Masters and Mistresses of households to their servants and dependents. Sad, yet comforting—and in the best manner of the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*,—is the concluding Lay-sermon, *Gather up the Fragments*. Its leading moral is, "Work, work, work!" That is the grand panacea for sorrow ; and, mercifully, there is no end of work to be done in this world, if anybody will do it.

Lectures on the History of Literature ; or, The Successive Periods of European Culture. Delivered in 1838 by THOMAS CARLYLE. Now first published from the Anstey MS. in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by R. P. KARKARIA. London: Curwen, Kane & Co., 121, Fleet Street, and Bombay. 1892.

MR. R. P. KARKARIA has accomplished the editing incidental to his enterprise intelligently, his foot-notes succinctly and serviceably elucidating the text in hand, filling up lacunæ, &c., and supplying a commendable running commentary of reference.

Some years ago, Mr. Wylie, in his *Life of Carlyle*, wrote : "It must ever be a source of regret to the students of Carlyle's writings that, while the reporters of the London Press were, in that summer of 1838, busy preserving every word of the orations of men who are already forgotten, a poor fragment is all that has come down to us of a series of lectures which would have thrown so much light on the story of Carlyle's spiritual life." Mr. Froude too regretted the lapse. It has been filled up and redeemed from limbo in the neat octavo volume lying before us, which is prefaced with an editorial introduction charged with memorabilia anent the nineteenth century prophet's first appearance in public ; a sort of advertisemental posing *in partibus infidelium* to which Carlyle was sensitively, even shyly, averse. His poverty, not his will, consented to what he seems to have felt as a humiliation, although, of course, he knew well that there could be no real humiliation in honest effort after independence, and would have been in his heart of hearts the last man to suppose even that there could be. His effort was on parallel lines to those for which he praises Shakespeare's *ad captandum vulgus* plays, "to gather a little money, for he was very necessitous." Froude says, in this connection, "The excitement of

lecturing, so elevating and agreeable to most men, seemed to depress and irritate him." In the stress of his lecturing season Carlyle himself wrote to Ralph Waldo Emerson :—

"I shall be in the agonies of lecturing! Ah me! Often when I think of the matter, how my one sole wish is to be left to hold my tongue, and by what bayonets of necessity, clapt to my back, I am driven to that lecture-room, and in what mood, and ordered to speak or die, I feel as if my only utterance should be a flood of tears and blubbering! But that clearly will not do. Then, again, I think it is perhaps better so; who knows?"

Vires acquirit eundo. The raw, diffident Scotchman with consciousness in him of a purposeful message to humanity, gained confidence in himself, and in it, as he went on delivering it. Women are good observers of externals. Here is Caroline Fox's vignette of the bashful lecturer of 1838 :—

"Carlyle soon appeared and looked as if he felt a well-dressed London crowd scarcely the arena for him to figure in as a popular lecturer. He is a tall, robust looking man; rugged simplicity and indomitable strength are in his face, and such a glow of genius in it—not always smouldering there, but flashing from his beautiful grey eyes, from the remoteness of their deep setting under that massive brow. His manner is very quiet, but he speaks like one tremendously convinced of what he utters, and who had much—very much—in him that was quite unutterable, quite unfit to be uttered to the uninitiated ear; and when the Englishman's sense of beauty or truth exhibited itself in vociferous cheers, he would impatiently, almost contemptuously, wave his hand, as if that were not the sort of homage which Truth demanded. He began in a rather low nervous voice, with a broad Scotch accent, but it soon grew firm, and shrank not abashed from its great task" (*Journals and Letters*, vol. I, p. 182).

As a companion picture, take Lord Houghton's impression of the same scene :—"His personality is most attractive. There he stands, simple as a child, and his happy thought dances on his lip and in his eyes, and takes root and goes away, and he bids it God-speed, whatever it be."

The language employed in these lectures, though here and there in them one may incidentally light on adumbrations of a German mannerism subsequently acquired, is easy, direct, forcible; free from the double-Dutch afflatus that afterwards became a disease in style, and has now been differentiated from other literary styles under the denomination "Carlylese." Brave Carlylese, in its spirit of independence and freedom from cant, is the estimate of Socrates and his work in the Pagan world, formulated in the lecture on Greek literature :—

He himself was not more sceptical than the rest; he shows a lingering kind of aim and attachment for the old religion of his country, and often we cannot make out whether he believed in it or not. He must have had but a painful intellectual life,—a painful kind of life altogether, one would think. He was the son of a statuary, and was originally brought up in that art, but he soon forsook it and appeared to give up all doings with the world, excepting such as would

lead to its spiritual improvement. From that time he devoted himself to the teaching of morality and virtue, and he spent his life in that kind of mission. I cannot say that there was any evil in this; but it does seem to me to have been a character entirely unprofitable. I have a great desire to admire Socrates, but I confess that his writings seem to be made up of a number of very wiredrawn notions about virtue;—there is no conclusion in him, there is no word of life in Socrates.

Euripides is rated less of a man (and, ergo, less of a poet) than he might have been, inasmuch as he was prone to writing "for the effect's sake," and not as the spirit moved him. Like the small truant who evaded Sunday School, and went skating, he was accused of impiety. "In a sceptical kind of man these two things go together very often,—impiety and desire of effect. There is decline of all literature when it ceases to be poetical, and becomes speculative." That is Carlyle's conclusion. A Carlyle can afford whiles to be inconsecutive; but throughout these lectures, and line between line of them, there is one persistent consecutiveness—insistence on the efficacies of faith. Throughout them, unbelief is unreason, and the one unpardonable sin against man's divine homogeneity. Above all things, man made in God's own image, should hold fast to belief in himself and the dignity of his manhood. *Apropos* of the rigours of Roman discipline, as affecting that manhood, here is a definition of true liberty, which we commend to the consideration of Indian Congress Wallahs:—

In spite of all that has been said and ought to be said about liberty, it is true liberty to obey the best personal guidance either out of our own head or out of that of some other. No one would wish to see some fool wandering about at his will, and without any restraint or direction. We must admit it to be far better for him even, if some wise man were to take charge of him, even though by force; although that seems to be but a coarse kind of operation.

This excerpt likewise seems to us noteworthy:—"Perhaps, even, there is the most energetic virtue where there is no talk about virtue at all." In other words—speech is silvern: golden is silence. How many Epopees will it take to make the Bengalee acquiesce in that *sine quâ non* towards the attainment of his appointed place in the scheme of creation? Out of Carlyle's mouth it is not at all surprising to find that old-world Herrick, and hanger on of Mæcenas, Quintus Horatius Flaccus, and his *læta præsentis cape donis horæ* philosophy, reprobated as "an unbelieving man, with no thought for anything but how to make himself comfortable, and to enjoy himself in this world." His own life was too sick and sorry, too thorny and uncomfortable a pilgrimage, for Carlyle to permit entertainment of anything approaching Epicureanism in his scheme of it. Wherefore he forswore it and its insidiousnesses, and was always apostle of the Στοα.

Goethe is, for Carlyle, Chief Apostle and Hierophant of a right literary and humanitarian cult. Traces of his influence, pervade all Carlyle's essays. It is odd, but it is fact, that, self-contained man as Carlyle was, he was yet fatuously unconscious of the dominantly egoistic side of that human-passion vivisectioning aspect of the Weimar scientist's character that must surely be revealed to any and every intelligent reader of any one of his numerous biographies. The key to the riddle lies possibly in this excerpt from the oracles lying before us :—"Should say, therefore, that the thing one often hears that such and such a man is a wise man, but a man of base heart, is altogether an impossibility, thank Heaven!" *Beati possidentes*—of belief as well as of actualities.

A'propos of the *Divina Commedia*, Carlyle observes :—"Some have regarded the poem as a kind of satire upon his enemies, on whom he revenged himself by putting them into Hell. Now, nothing is more unworthy of Dante than such a theory." Yet, to our thinking, that selfsame *Divina Commedia* indubitably was a satire, a spite feminine in form ; and it was unworthy of Dante's character to condescend to such spite. But—alas for the infirmities of noble minds—even to such meanness Dante—in exile, and eating his heart out in the mortifications of a disappointed party politician—did condescend. In the bitterness of his regrets for lost place and power, he could not even forgive Brunello Latine, the old pettifogging schoolmaster, who—as the custom of the times was, and unto our own days has prevailed in schools—caned grammar into him, while he was a boy. This poor old pedagogue, this victim of a classical conventionalism to which Dante himself was subservient in selecting Virgil as his guide to the infernal regions, Dante could not forgive for his disciplinations ; must needs, a quarter of a century after the canings had ceased, gibbet and hold up to ridicule in the *Inferno*, just as he did such partisan opponents as happened to differ from him in political opinion. Dante may have been a polemical Sun and Morning Star ; but to our thinking, his fiendish vindictiveness towards the political opponents who snatched victory from him in fair—(political)—fight, is, to say the least of it, an ugly moral sunspot, over and above being what many of Dante's admirers may consider a worse thing,—what Goethe would surely have considered a worse thing—an æsthetic blunder to wit. In Carlyle's gloss on the story of Francesca di Rimini, you may see how the man's fervently poetical natural bents, albeit subdued by an early course of bannocks and Presbyterian discipline (never quite got rid of), for once in a way reached within measurable bound of free scope.

The transition from Dante to Cervantes is as from mastiff

to terrier. But Carlyle, by virtue of his respect for the chivalry he sometimes appears to laugh at, in favour of more utilitarian life business, is by way of being in full sympathy with Don Quixote and his windmills; being himself in hearty sooth redoubtable 19th century knight-errant, and indefatigable in assault on the windmills of cant and tradition—powerful and mischievous adversaries, because commonly adjudged respectable; and, by reason of that *vox et præterea nihil*, supported by Philistines in their malversations and mischief-makings. The people of Spain, Carlyle opines, “had less breadth of genius than the Italians, but they had, on the other hand, a lofty sustained enthusiasm in a higher degree than the Italians,* with a tinge of what we call romance, a dash of Oriental exaggeration, and a tenacious vigour in prosecuting their objects.” Carlyle derives the spirit of chivalry from Germany. The whitewash of congenital and scholastic naturalization must be discounted from a statement like that. Allowing for this, the present day social subjection of women throughout the German Empire—even in what Jeames Yellowplush would style “the hupper succles”—sufficiently refutes such a notion. The good man is he who is kind to *me*, a homely adage says. Now, Carlyle’s genius had intuitive Teutonic bent and inclination. To that superadd recognition of it in Germany, denied initially in England, and thereto couple his inherited strain of Puritanism, *à la* Low Dutch Models :—*Et voila tout*.

The Apology of the Christian Religion. Historically regarded with reference to Supernatural Revelation and Redemption. By REV. JAMES MACGREGOR, D D., Columba Church, Oamaru; sometime Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh, author of Handbooks on Exodus and Galatians. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street, 1891.

A MUNDANELY catholical review put forth in *partibus infidelium* is manifestly not a suitable vehicle for the exchange of controversial courtesies as to the evidences of Christianity. Wherefore we do not propose to analyse the disputation set forth in Dr. Macgregor’s “Apology.” It need only be said here that even a cursory dip into the contents of it shows that he is too fond of begging the question to be a safe guide either to exegesis of profane history, or to reconciliation of the letter of Scripture with the last words of modern science, and German criticism. On the first page of his *Introductory Survey*, after postulating that Christianity is *the* apologetic

* E. g., the careers of Lucrezia Borgia, and her father Pope Alexander, and her brother Cæsar. There was in them no lack of enthusiasm of a sort.

religion, he writes :—"No other religion has ever seriously set itself to the endeavour to subdue a hostile world by apology (from *logos* "reason," or "reason," *ratio* vel *oratio*, 1 Pet. III 15) to reason the sinful world out of worldliness into godliness."

Passing by the vicious philology and redundancy of reason, we would observe that Buddhism has quite as strong a claim as Christianity to be regarded as, what the Doctor is pleased to style, an "apologetic" religion. Three pages further on, it is written :—"For a doubt of the veracity of men like Paul and Matthew, Mark, Luke and John would only show an absence of moral sanity, to be disregarded in serious reasoning on the ground of history." Three pages further on, again, gratuitously assuming that primitive Christians universally believed not only in miracles wrought by the apostles, but also "by some who were not apostles, and by some apparently who were not even evangelists nor church-officers of any sort," Dr. Macgregor triumphantly asks—"Why should they be unable to believe in miracles as performed by the Lord?" Why, indeed. But enough if this polemic divine finds his pleasure, or his profit, in slaying over again suppositious slain; we, for our part, have neither time, nor inclination, to waste on such vanity.

The Early Church: a History of Christianity in the first six Centuries. By the late DAVID DUFF, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Edited by his son DAVID DUFF, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38. George Street. 1891.

THIS is a scholarly, painstaking piece of work, praiseworthy, too, for its freedom from bigotry. We have been specially pleased with the liberal minded treatment of Julian the Apostate's career set forth in Chapter XXXVIII of the book. We have always thought that the man's worst vice was vanity,—vanity of the inordinate gorge that will not be content with mundane fame and flattery, but aspires further to such triumph as may be achieved by apotheosis. As Dr. Duff says:—

The prodigious activity of Julian during his short reign has scarcely a parallel in history. Schaff, recalling what he was as a prince, general, judge, high-priest, correspondent and author, and remarking that his only recreation was change of labour, and not only so, but that his labours were simultaneously manifold (he would at one time use his hand in writing, his ear in hearing, and his voice in speaking), says that "he sought to unite the fame of an Alexander, a Marcus Aurelius, a Plato, and a Diogenes."* As to Marcus Aurelius, it may be noticed that his image seemed constantly to hover before the soul of Julian as the ideal of a ruler, and, like that sovereign, he regarded the maintenance of the old religion as the most powerful support of the throne and the necessary condition of the public welfare. As to his seeking the fame of Diogenes, Julian carried his simplicity and severity

*History of the Christian Church, Vol. II. p. 45.

to an extreme cynicism, which transgressed decency, and injured him greatly even in the estimation of his pagan admirers. In his religious activity in particular—in the perpetual unrest and excitement with which he hastened from temple to temple, sacrificed at all altars, and left nothing untried in his attempt to restore the pagan worship in its full pomp and splendour, with all its ceremonies and mysteries—in this, Baur sees unmistakable evidence of a secret consciousness that the enterprise to which he set himself was an unnatural and a hopeless one.*

We disagree utterly with Baur's verdict on the facts of the case. Nervous, excitable men, like Julian, are the last men in the world able to put superhuman energy into furtherance of a cause they believe to be hopeless. But the excerpt is a fair sample of Dr. Duff's conscientious way of dealing with his subject.

Promotions and Examinations in Graded Schools. By EMERSON E. WHITE, LL.D., Cincinnati, Ohio. Bureau of Education. Circular of Information, No. 7, 1891. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1891.

MR. EMERSON E. WHITE, "LL.D.," justifies his Emersonian designation in being as prolix, as inconclusive, as immaterial, as ever was Ralph Waldo Emerson—without Emerson's occasional scintillations of genius. He begins his tract with the declaration that "the first and most important duty in the administration of a system of Graded Schools is the arrangement of a true and properly graded course of instruction and training." And then he goes on through 64 pages, platitudinizing on that rusty theme, without the faintest twinkle of any thing real, vital, or novel to disclose on the subject—till one is tempted into wondering whether latter-day educationists are not, in sad sooth, exemplifying the notion of the author of *Erewhon*, that 19th century man is a "machine-tickling aphid;" no otherwise valuable than with regard to his capacity for working machinery—and worshipping it.

Rules for a Dictionary Catalogue. By CHARLES A. CUTTER, Librarian of the Boston Athenæum. Third Edition with Corrections and Additions and an Alphabetical Index. U. S. Bureau of Education. Special Report on Public Libraries, Part II. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1891.

RULES are kittle cattle, vindictively given to cutting the fingers of people who put faith in them. Mr. Cutter has, it would seem, some perception of this fact, since on the first page of his brochure we find him writing—"The number of

*Die Christlich Kirche vom Anfang des 4ten bis zum Enden des 6ten Jahrhunderts, s. 17.

the following rules is not owing to any complexity of system, but to the number of cases to which a few simple principles have to be applied. They are especially designed for Medium, but may easily be adapted to Short by excision and marginal notes." The precise nature of what is meant by the terms "medium" and "short" is not vouchsafed. This is how Mr. Cutter deals with the word anonymous:—

"*Anonymous*, published without the author's name.

Strictly a book is not anonymous if the author's name appears anywhere in it, but it is safest to treat it as anonymous if the author's name does not appear in the title.

Note that the words are "in the title," not "on the title-page." Sometimes in Government publications the author's name and the title of his work do not appear on the title-page, but on a page immediately following. Such works are not anonymous.

My Leper Friends: An Account of Personal Work among Lepers and of their Daily Life in India. By MRS. M. H. HAYES. With a Chapter on *Leprosy* by SURGEON-MAJOR G. G. MACLAREN, M.D. Illustrated. London: W. Thacker and Co., 87, Newgate Street. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. Bombay: Thacker and Co., Limited. 1891.

AN emotional and somewhat egoistic woman on one side; vested interests and traditional Anglo-Indian respect for authority on the other, and, by way of *tertium quid*, strong local party feeling, seemingly, on both sides, sadly oblivious of the humanitarian issues at stake.

Whatever opinion one may incline to with regard to the merits or demerits of Mrs Hayes' crusade against the irresponsible fashion in which the vested interests of custodians of derelict Calcutta Charities are maintained, there can be but one opinion as to that lady's indomitable pluck under difficulties and in the face of discouragements. Fortified by the doubtful advantage of support from Mr. Labouchere, and undismayed by Mr. Prinsep's snubbings, she has returned to the charge, in a book entitled *My Leper Friends*, published in London, by W. Thacker and Company of Newgate Street. There are inevitably always two sides to an argument. In Mrs. Hayes' case all the "say" has been on the other side. It is but fair that the object of demi-official animadversion should be granted, in her turn, opportunity for a defence of her cause.

After due deduction for emotionalism and egoism, the 127 pages of the book lying before us have left on our mind an assurance of honest purpose on the author's part, and of the need for full, free, unofficial enquiry into the management of Charitable Trusts and Endowments in Calcutta.

Every good citizen should read this book of Mrs. Hayes', and, having read and inwardly digested it, should take action suited to his social status and opportunities.

From it we will here take two excerpts: The first:—

I must here explain that Indian institutions, like the one in question, are usually presided over by Government officials, who have little time to spare from their routine work for the exhibition of sympathy and practical kindness. The climate, too, greatly militates against philanthropic efforts in the cause of unpaid duties. Hence, the tendency to shift the *onus* of superintendence on subordinates, whose actions their superiors have to support, or to burden themselves with a large amount of personal attendance. With such an alternative, the choice generally accepted can easily be guessed. As long as things go outwardly smoothly, the subordinate draws his salary, plays the vicarious part of big man, and no doubt enjoys the well understood perquisites of such offices. If a public *exposé* takes place, the high official gets worried and questioned about a subject with which he has failed to keep himself in touch; the subordinate sees with dismay the chances of his direct and indirect emoluments being snatched from his grasp. Hence, the entire staff bitterly resent any journalistic comments on their working that are not wholly laudatory. All such officials, therefore, act on the principle of *L'état, c'est moi*. "If" say they, "you have got anything to find fault with, report it to me; but don't write to the papers." If the would-be reformer acts contrary to his dictum, they will make such officials his bitterest enemies.

The second:—

My readers may learn from this that Dr. MacLaren *did* consider the requirements of a European as being entirely separate and distinct from those of natives, and arranged for suitable accommodation for the one under his charge, previous to his reception. In Calcutta this is not done, and up to the time of writing, Europeans are herding with natives in a ward entirely devoid of furniture, except a bed each. This is not from necessity, or want of funds; for the District Charitable Society is one of the richest in Calcutta.

There would seem to be good ground for the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry into the administration of this eclectically "Charitable" Society's wealth.

Higher Education in Indiana, No. 10 by JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D., Professor of American History in the Indiana University, sometime Fellow in History, John Hopkin's University. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 1, 1891. Contributions to American Educational History, edited by HERBERT B. ADAMS. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

"THE distinguishing feature of public Education in America is that it is free." That is the key-note of Mr. James Albert Woodburn's 200 pages of eulogy of American Universities: there would seem to be no schools there.

It strikes us that if Mr. James Albert Woodward knew somewhat of the uses and values of English, he would write in his tractate not "Education," but Cram.

Presumably, Mr. James Albert Woodburn deems this education on which he prides himself, worth something. Might it not be worth paying for, this good thing, this desirable acquisition? Human nature is human nature, and to the end of the chapter will probably so remain. Is it in human nature adequately to appreciate anything thrown to it in charity. There *are* some natures able to rise superior to the sense of indignity which charity arouses. But how many? If education is worth anything at all, it is worth paying for; when it is not paid for, it is not appreciated.

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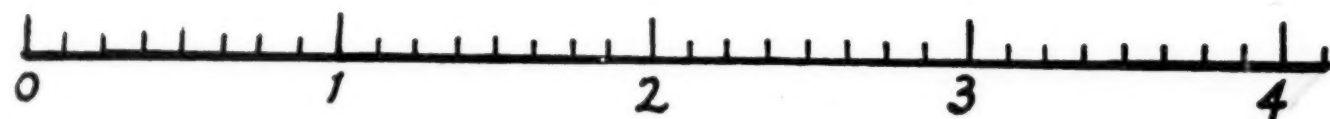
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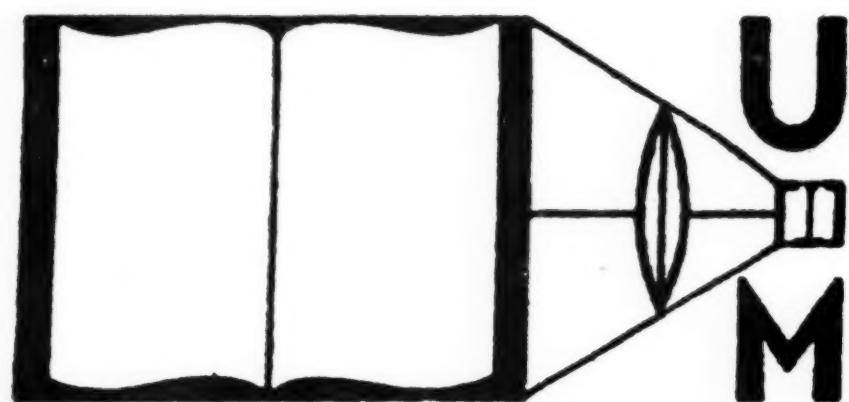
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